Gc
974.402
B65bog
1786204

M. E.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 01105 9745

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/march17th1876cel1876bost

MARCH 17th, 1876.

CELEBRATION

OF THE

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

EVACUATION OF BOSTON

1876

BY THE

BRITISH ARMY,

MARCH 17th, 1776.

RECEPTION OF THE WASHINGTON MEDAL.

ORATION DELIVERED IN MUSIC HALL,

AND A

CHRONICLE OF THE SIEGE OF BOSTON,

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS.

Boston:
PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL.
MDCCCLXXVI.

563

1786204

F
8441
.0995

BOSTON. City council.

Celebration of the centennial anniversary of the evacuation of Boston by the British army, March 17th, 1776. Reception of the Washington medal. Oration delivered in Music Hall, and a chronicle of the siege of Boston, by G. E. Ellis. Boston, 1876.

199p. 27cm.

This copy missing all illustrative matter.

Autograph presentation copy from J. Q. A. Brackett, president of the Boston City Council.

At head of title: March 17th, 1876.

OC PC Sh A ASh Gr GrSh MSh W WSh CSh G
325538 ICN 71/rev

Press of
ROCKWELL AND CHURCHILL, CITY PRINTERS,
39 Arch Street, Boston.

CITY OF BOSTON.

IN BOARD OF ALDERMEN, March 20, 1876.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council are due, and they are hereby tendered, to GEORGE E. ELLIS, D. D., for the very interesting historical oration delivered before the municipal authorities of this city on the 17th inst., that being the Centennial Anniversary of the Evacuation of the town of Boston by the British Army; and that he be requested to furnish a copy of said oration for publication, together with such historical facts connected with the Siege of Boston as may be deemed worthy of preservation.

Ordered, That fifteen hundred copies of the oration of George E. Ellis, D.D., delivered before the municipal authorities of this city on the 17th inst., be printed, together with an account of the proceedings connected with the observance of the Centennial Anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston by the British Army; and that the expense thereof be charged to the appropriation for Printing.

Passed; sent down for concurrence.

JOHN T. CLARK, *Chairman.*

IN COMMON COUNCIL, March 23, 1876.

Passed in concurrence.

J. Q. A. BRACKETT, *President.*

Approved March 24, 1876.

SAMUEL C. COBB, *Mayor.*

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS 9

DECORATIONS 12

ILLUMINATIONS 20

RECEPTION OF THE WASHINGTON MEDAL. 23

SERVICES IN MUSIC HALL 33

Prayer by Rev. Dr. Manning, Pastor of Old South Church . . . 34

Introductory Remarks of Mayor Cobb 36

Address by George E. Ellis, D.D. 39

CHRONICLE OF THE SIEGE (*By George E. Ellis, D. D.*)

The Provincial Forces Summoned 109

Commencement of the Siege of Boston 110

The Poor in Boston 112

General Burgoyne on the Situation 112

Intercourse between Town and Country 114

Covenant between General Gage and the Inhabitants 115

Proclamation by General Gage 119

"The Friends of Government" 123

Tories in Town and Country 124

Lady Frankland 126

Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford 129

Fire in Boston 130

Care for a Civil Government 131

Harvard College and Cambridge 135

The Provincial Fortifications 138

Raids on the Harbor Islands 142

Incidents in the Provincial Camp 145

Correspondence of Generals Lee and Burgoyne 146

A Preliminary to the Declaration of Independence 149

Dr. Benj. Church charged with Treachery 151

A Visitor to the Camp 151

A Characteristic Order by Washington 153

Winter in the Camp 154

Treatment of Prisoners 156

PAGE

CHRONICLE OF THE SIEGE — *Continued.*

Burgoyne on the Situation in Boston 158
Destruction of "Liberty-Tree" 160
The Besieged in Boston 164
Commission by General Gage 164
Crean Brush 165
Printing in Boston 166
Proclamations by General Gage 167
Burgoyne's Theatricals in Boston 168
General Howe in Command in Boston 170
Proclamations by General Howe 170
The Contract for the Evacuation and Safety of Boston 173
The Leave-Taking and Embarkation 175
Boston Harbor Reopened 180
Report of the Evacuation in England 180
Diaries and Letters in Boston during the Siege 182
Diary of Ezekiel Price 184
Letters to Gardiner Greene 187
Dr. Andrew Eliot 188
Diary of Timothy Newell 192
The Boston Ministers during the Siege 198

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

PELHAM'S MAP OF BOSTON.
PROVINCE HOUSE 1
OLD STATE HOUSE 15
LONG WHARF 18
WASHINGTON MEDAL 25
HANCOCK HOUSE 99
FANEUIL HALL 115
VICINITY OF BOSTON, FORTS 138
PROSPECT HILL AND BUNKER HILL — FLY LEAF 139
THEATRICAL PROGRAMME 169

[The Engravings of the Washington Medal, and of the Fortifications around Boston, were prepared for Dr. Sparks' Life and Writings of Washington. Mrs Sparks has kindly granted the use of the plates for this volume.]

PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS.

DECORATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.

PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS.

In his Inaugural Address to the City Council of Boston, on the 3d of January, 1876, the Mayor, Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, referred to the Centennial Anniversaries of the last and the present year in the following words: —

"In June last we had our centennial celebration of the Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill. I believe it is regarded on all hands as a gratifying success. It was a memorable day for Boston, as being the first public occasion on which the antagonists in the fields and the councils of the civil war met together in considerable numbers and in organized bodies, to exchange pledges of renewed amity and fraternal fellowship and of a future cordial co-operation in the duties of patriotism. It appeared to awaken the hospitable feelings and the patriotic ardors of our own people, and we have had many testimonies that our welcome visitors from all sections of the country were pleased with their reception and entertainment. This year Philadelphia will be the seat of a more imposing observance, in celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of the National Independence. Our warmest sympathies will be with her on this grand occasion of national and international interest. Under the auspices of the State Commission, our people will contribute to the exposition the products of their

industry and art, and, I presume, a large personal representation.

"It does not appear at present that any formal action on the subject is called for on the part of this municipal government.

"On the Seventeenth of March next will occur the centennial anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston by the British troops. The City Council will consider what observance of the day, if any, will be appropriate in itself and acceptable to the people. And on the Fourth of July I presume the City Government will not omit the celebration to which the people have been accustomed from the earliest times."

At the meeting of the Board of Aldermen, January 6th, 1876, the following order was adopted: —

Ordered, That the Chairman and four members of the Board of Aldermen, with such as the Common Council may join, be a committee to consider and report in what way it will be expedient to celebrate, on the Seventeenth of March next, the Centennial anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston by the British army, and on the Fourth of July next, the Centennial anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence.

And Aldermen John T. Clark, *Chairman*, Alvah A. Burrage, Hugh O'Brien, Choate Burnham, and Francis Thompson, were appointed as such committee.

At the meeting of the Common Council, January 13, the order was passed in concurrence, and Councilmen J. Q. A. Brackett, *President*, Curtis Guild, Edwin Sibley, John Sweetser, William G. Train, Otis H. Pierce, Frederick G. Walbridge, and William Blanchard were joined.

The order was approved by the Mayor, January 15, 1876.

On the 17th of January the committee reported in part, rec-

ommending that the Mayor and the Chairman of the Board of Aldermen be authorized to engage an orator for the Seventeenth of March, and an order to that effect was passed by the City Council.

On the 24th of January, the committee again reported, recommending that, in addition to the oration already provided for, the Seventeenth of March be observed as follows: —

By firing salutes at sunrise and sunset, and by ringing the church bells at sunrise, noon, and sunset; that the occupants of the stores and dwellings on Washington street be requested to decorate their buildings; that the locations of the fortifications on Boston Neck, and other places of historic interest in the city, be decorated; that Bunker Hill Monument, Dorchester Heights, and the principal public buildings, be illuminated; and that the General Government be requested to fire salutes from the Navy Yard and the forts in the harbor; and that the State authorities be requested to illuminate the State-House. Citizens resident on the principal squares and thoroughfares were requested to illuminate their dwellings on the evening of the Seventeenth.

The committee appended to their report the following order, which was adopted by the City Council, and approved by the Mayor on the 5th of February: —

Ordered, That the Joint Special Committee who were appointed to consider and report in what way the centennial anniversary of the evacuation of Boston by the British army should be celebrated, be authorized to make arrangements for the proper celebration of that occasion, at an expense not exceeding five thousand dollars, to be charged to the appropriation for Incidentals.

In accordance with the order passed by the City Council, his Honor the Mayor invited George E. Ellis, D. D., to deliver the oration, and the Reverend Jacob M. Manning, D. D., to act as chaplain, on the occasion, and both gentlemen accepted the invitation.

DECORATIONS.

The season of the year being unfavorable for out-door decorations, the sub-committee having the matter in charge, deemed it advisable to designate such places only as were situated upon the lines of march of the advancing and retreating armies, beginning at the advanced line of the American fortifications in Roxbury, and terminating at the point of embarkation of the British troops on Long Wharf.

The following places were thus designated: —

AMERICAN FORTIFICATIONS.

The original line of American fortifications crossed what is now Washington street on the line of division between Boston and Roxbury, near the present Clifton place. On the 23d of August, 1775, the work of fortifying Lamb's Dam was begun, and upon the completion of that work the line of fortification was advanced to a point a little south of the present Northampton street.

Lamb's Dam extended from about the junction of Hampden and Albany streets to a point near the present Walnut place. It was originally built to keep the tide from overflowing the marshes, and followed very nearly the present line of Northampton street, diverging slightly to the southward as it neared the highway. At the termination of the Dam, on the upland, a strong breastwork was constructed, and from that the intrenchments extended across the highway.

The works were completed September 10, 1775, without opposition from the British, although within musket-shot of their advanced posts.

LOCATION OF BROWN'S HOUSE.

The house and barn of Mr. Brown stood on the west side of the highway, near the present location of Franklin square, and about twenty rods in advance of the British line.

The buildings were occupied by the British troops, and served as a post from which to annoy the Americans.

On the 8th of July, 1775, a party of volunteers from the American army, under command of Majors Tupper and Crane, attacked the post, drove in the guard, and set fire to the buildings.

This was the only armed conflict between the opposing armies which took place within the original limits of Boston.

It was at Brown's house that General Burgoyne proposed to meet General Lee, to discuss the differences existing between the colonies and the mother-country.

BRITISH FORTIFICATIONS ON THE NECK.

The main line of the British fortifications crossed the Neck between Dedham and Canton streets. The works were considered very strong, mounting twenty guns of heavy calibre, together with six howitzers and a mortar battery.

The road passed directly through the centre of the work and was closed by gates.

The fortification nearest the town was known as the "Green Store Battery," and was situated just south of the present Williams Market. Its name was taken from the warehouse of Deacon Brown, which stood on the site of Williams Market, and was painted green.

A barrier was erected at this point, prior to 1640, as a protection against the Indians, and, in 1710, by vote of the town, a strong work was constructed there. In September, 1774, General Gage caused the remains of the old works to be strengthened. The road passed through the centre of the works, and was closed by a gate and a drawbridge.

A person who entered the town soon after it was evacuated, describing these fortifications, says, "We found the works upon the Neck entire, the cannon spiked up, the shells chiefly split, and many of the cannon carriages cut to pieces; these lines upon the Neck were handsomely built, and so amazingly strong that it would have been impracticable for us to have forced them."

The works were, by Washington's order, rendered useless after the continental army moved to New York, so that the enemy could not make them available in case they should regain the town.

LIBERTY-TREE BUILDING.

The Liberty-tree, so named from its being used on the first occasion of public resistance to the Stamp Act, stood near the present corner of Essex and Washington streets. It was one of a number of magnificent elms which grew in that locality.

On the 14th of August, 1765, an effigy of Mr. Oliver, the stamp officer, together with a boot with a devil peeping out of it, — an allusion to Lord Bute, — were discovered hanging on the tree, and soon after the same Mr. Oliver, much against his will, was compelled to meet the Sons of Liberty at the tree, and make a public recantation of his sentiments in favor of the Stamp Act. In November, 1765, two of the king's advisers were hung in effigy upon the tree.

From 1765 until the British troops took possession of the town, the tree was famous as the place of meeting of the Sons of Liberty, and the ground around it was popularly known as Liberty Hall. In 1767 a flagstaff was erected, which extended through and above the branches of the tree, and a flag displayed from this staff was a signal for the assembling of the Sons of Liberty. Under the branches of the tree matters of public concern were discussed during the stirring times which preceded the actual commencement of hostilities, and many of the prominent actors in the revolutionary conflict took a lively part in the proceedings.

The tree was cut down in August, 1775, by the Tories and the British troops, much to the vexation of the patriots who remained in the town during the siege. While the tree was being cut down, a soldier, in attempting to remove a limb, fell and was killed.

Alluding to the event, the "Essex Gazette," of August 31st, 1775, says, "Armed with axes, they made a furious attack upon it. After a long spell of laughing and grinning, sweating, swearing, and foaming, with malice diabolical, they cut down a tree because it bore the name of liberty."

A freestone bas-relief, set in the front of the building on the corner of Essex and Washington streets, marks the spot where the tree stood.

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

The present building was erected in 1729; when built it was situated in what was then considered the south part of the town, and was known as the South Meeting-house. The name "Old South" was given it after the erection of the "New South" in Summer street. The building is especially rich in historic associations. Here the orations on the anniversaries of the Boston Massacre were delivered, and its walls resounded with the eloquence of many who afterwards exemplified their patriotism by deeds as well as words. Here was held the meeting which culminated in the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor. The meeting was adjourned from Faneuil Hall, that building not being large enough to contain the crowd. The Old South Church was looked upon with especial disfavor by the British, on account of the meetings of the patriots which were held there, and in 1775 it was taken possession of, at the instance of General Burgoyne, and converted into a riding-school for the use of the Queen's Light Dragoons.

The east galleries were allotted to spectators, and a refreshment-room was fitted up in the first gallery; the pulpit and pews were removed and used for fuel, and the floor was covered with dirt and gravel.

After the town was evacuated by the British the Old South Society worshipped in King's Chapel, which had been abandoned by its rector and congregation.

THE OLD STATE-HOUSE.

The present building was erected in 1748 for a town-house. The meetings of the Colonial Courts, the Provincial Council, and the General Court of the Colony were held in it. The representatives met in a chamber situated at the west end of the building, and here, according to John Adams, "Independence was born."

The news of the accession of George III., the last crowned head proclaimed in the colonies, was read from the balcony, and on the 18th of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was read from the same place, by the Sheriff, William Greenleaf.

When the British troops were quartered in the town, it was used as a barrack, and in it Generals Gage, Howe, and Clinton held a Council of War, before the Battle of Bunker Hill.

In 1789 a temporary balcony was erected at the west end of the building, from which General Washington reviewed the procession which had escorted him into the town.

After the organization of the State Government, the General Court met there until the completion of the present State-House, in 1798. The convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States began its sessions there, and in it the Constitution of Massachusetts was framed.

In 1830 the building was dedicated as a City Hall, and continued to be occupied for that purpose until the Court House, which stood on the site of the present City Hall, was remodelled, and the City Government removed there. In 1838 the post-office was located there, at which time a force of fifteen clerks was sufficient to transact the business of the department.

FANEUIL HALL.

The hall erected and presented to the town by Peter Faneuil was completed in 1742, and at a town meeting on the 13th of September of that year, the building was accepted, and a vote of thanks passed to the donor. The action of the town was as follows: —

"In Town Meeting, Boston, September 13, 1742.

"Whereas information was given to this town, at their meeting in July, 1740, that Peter Faneuil, Esq., had been generously pleased to offer, at his own proper cost and charge, to erect and build a noble and compleat structure or edifice, to be improved for a market, for the sole use, benefit, and advantage of the town; provided the town of Boston would pass a vote for that purpose, and lay the same under such proper regulations as shall be thought necessary, and constantly support it for the said use;

"And whereas at the said meeting it was determined to accept of the offer or proposal aforesaid; and also voted that the selectmen should be desired to wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esq., and to present the thanks of this town to him, and also to acquaint him that the town have, by their vote, come to a resolution to accept of his generous offer of erecting a market-house on Dock square, according to his proposal; And whereas Peter Faneuil, Esq., has, in pursuance thereof, at a very great expense, erected a noble structure, far exceeding his first proposal, inasmuch as it contains not only a large and sufficient accommodation for a market-place, but has also superadded a spacious and most beautiful town hall over it, and several other convenient rooms, which may prove very ben-

eficial to the town for offices, or otherwise; and the said building being now finished, has delivered possession thereof to the selectmen, for the use of the town; it is therefore

"*Voted*, That the town do, with the utmost gratitude, receive and accept this most generous and noble benefaction, for the uses and intentions they are designed for, and do appoint the Honorable Thomas Cushing, Esq., the Moderator of this meeting, the Hon. Adam Winthrop, Edward Hutchinson, Ezekiel Lewis, and Samuel Waldo, Esqrs., Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., the Selectmen and representatives of the town of Boston, the Hon. Jacob Wendell, Esq., James Bowdoin, Esq., Andrew Oliver, Esq., Capt. Nathaniel Cunningham, Peter Chardon, Esq., and Mr. Charles Apthorp, to wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esqr., and, in the name of the town, to render him their most hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers that this, and other expressions of his bounty and charity, may be abundantly recompenced with the divine blessing."

Another vote was passed, that in testimony of the town's gratitude to Peter Faneuil, and to perpetuate his memory, "the hall over the market-place be named Faneuil Hall, and at all times hereafter be called and known by that name." As a further testimony of respect, the selectmen were instructed to procure a portrait of Mr. Faneuil, at the town's expense and place it in the hall.

This building was one hundred by forty feet, and the hall would contain one thousand persons. It was burnt in 1761, and rebuilt, by order of the town, in 1763, a lottery being authorized by the State to aid in the design. In 1806, the width of the building was increased to eighty feet, and a third story was added.

The first oration delivered in the hall was a eulogy on the death of Peter Faneuil, pronounced by John Lovell, A. M., the master of the Latin School.

During the siege of Boston the hall was fitted up into a theatre, where plays, derisive of the patriots, were performed.

"In this hall was first heard the eloquence of a Hancock, the two Adamses, a Bowdoin, a Mollineux, and a Warren. In this hall was first kindled that divine spark of liberty, which, like an unconquerable flame, has pervaded the continent — a flame, which, while it proved a cloud of darkness to the enemies of America, has appeared like a pillar of fire to the votaries of freedom, and happily lighted them to empire and independence." — *Massachusetts Magazine.*

MAIN GUARD-HOUSE OF THE BRITISH TROOPS.

When the British troops landed in Boston, Governor Bernard gave up the State-House to them, much to the annoyance of the courts which sat there, and to the merchants and citizens who used the lower part of the building for an exchange; after an unsuccessful attempt to obtain possession of the Manufactory building for a barrack, other buildings were procured, in various parts of the town, in which the troops were quartered.

The main guard was posted in a building on King street, directly opposite the south door of the State-House, and two field-pieces were pointed directly towards it.

This was looked upon as a menace to the liberty of the people, and an attempt to overawe the legislative and judicial bodies which met in the State-House, and much indignation was expressed thereat. When the Superior Court met in November, 1769, James Otis moved, "That the court adjourn to Faneuil Hall, not only as the stench occasioned by the regulars in the representatives' chamber might prove infectious, but as it was derogatory to the honor of the court to administer justice at the mouths of cannon and the points of bayonets."

It was a detachment of the main guard, stationed in this building, which fired upon the people in King street, on the 5th of March, 1770.

LONG WHARF.

In 1709, Oliver Noyes, and others, proposed to the town to build and maintain a wharf with a sufficient common sewer, from the end of King (now State) street to low-water mark, "leaving a way three feet wide on one of the sides thereof, as a highway for the use of the inhabitants of said town and others, and to extend from one end of the same unto the other forever; and leaving a gap of sixteen feet wide, covered over, for lighters and boats to pass and repass, about the middle of said wharf, or where the Selectmen shall direct, as also a passage-way on the new wharves, on each side, for carts, etc.; leaving the end of said wharf free for the town, when they shall see reason, to plant guns for the defence of said town." The proposition was referred to the Selectmen, who, in 1710, reported in favor of accepting it, and they were authorized to execute the proper instruments, which they did on the 13th of May. The

wharf was known first as "Boston Pier," and in the act of incorporation, granted in 1772, is described as "Boston Pier, otherwise called the Long Wharf."

The property was divided into twenty-four shares, and descendants of some of the original owners still retain the ownership of shares and stores. In 1745, during the war with France, the town erected a breast-work and planted a line of guns upon the end of the wharf. This appears to be the only instance of the town's availing itself of the reservation contained in the grant to the proprietors.

After the fall of Louisburg, Governor Shirley landed here, and met with a brilliant reception. General Gage landed here in 1774, and was received by the members of the Council and House of Representatives. Some of the principal inhabitants of the town, with the company of cadets, escorted him to the Council Chamber amid salutes of artillery and the cheers of the people. Most of the British troops landed here, and the 5th and 38th British regiments embarked from here for Bunker Hill. When the British evacuated the town this was the principal point of embarkation. A large quantity of stores was left upon the wharf, and General Gage's chariot was taken from the dock broken. A brigantine, a sloop, and a schooner were scuttled and left there, and many articles were found in the dock, which had been thrown over by the British.

ILLUMINATIONS.

On the evening of March 17, 1876, the following buildings were illuminated by the city authorities: —

Faneuil Hall, City Hall, the Old State-House, and the Old South Church. The State-House was illuminated by the State authorities. Calcium lights were exhibited from the top of Bunker Hill Monument, at Dorchester Heights, from the top of the Lawrence School-house, and from the Cochituate stand-pipe at the Highlands.

Fortifications were constructed by the Americans during the siege on Dorchester Heights, on the hill where the stand-pipe is situated, and on what was then known as Nook's Hill, the site of the Lawrence School-house.

The following is a brief account of the last-mentioned places: —

DORCHESTER HEIGHTS.

The works on Dorchester Heights were constructed with a view of forcing the enemy to attack the American lines. On the 26th of February, Washington wrote: "I am preparing to take a post on Dorchester Heights, to try if the enemy will be so kind as to come out to us."

The work of constructing the fortifications was commenced about eight o'clock, on the night of the 4th of March, and when morning dawned, the works were in a condition to afford a good defence against small arms and grape-shot.

The works commanded both the harbor and the town, and left the British but one alternative, either to evacuate the town, or to drive the Americans from their fortifications.

The latter course was determined upon, and twenty-four hundred men were ordered to rendezvous at Castle William, for the purpose of making a night attack upon the works.

That afternoon a furious storm arose; the surf was so great upon the shore where the boats were to have landed that they could not have lived in it, and the design was abandoned. A council of war was held, and it was determined to evacuate the town.

ROXBURY FORT.

The Cochituate stand-pipe marks the site of what was considered one of the strongest forts constructed by the Americans during the siege.

It was built under the direction of General Knox, and was known as the Roxbury Fort, sometimes called the High or Star Fort.

The strength of its construction, and its position on the top of a steep hill, rendered it almost impregnable.

NOOK'S HILL.

The appearance, on the morning of March 17th, 1776, of the fortifications on Nook's Hill hastened the departure of the British troops. It completely commanded the town, and its possession by the Americans would place the British forces at their mercy.

An attempt was made by the Americans to fortify it, on the 9th of March, a strong detachment being sent for that purpose; but one of the men kindled a fire, which was seen by the British, who commenced a severe cannonade upon them. Five Americans were killed, and the detachment was forced to retire.

On the 16th another detachment was sent to the hill, and succeeded in fortifying it, in spite of a heavy cannonade, and the next morning the British evacuated the town.

RECEPTION OF THE WASHINGTON MEDAL.

THE WASHINGTON MEDAL.

The gold Medal commemorative of the Evacuation of Boston became the property of George Steptoe Washington, the son of Samuel Washington, who was the General's elder brother. The next owner of the Medal was Dr. Samuel Walter Washington, eldest son of George Steptoe Washington. On the decease of the doctor at Hasewood, Virginia, in 1831, his widow became possessed of the relic. She is still living. She had given it to her only son, George Lafayette Washington, who had married the daughter of her brother, the Rev. Dr. John B. Clemson, of Claymont, Delaware. On the recent decease of George Lafayette Washington, the Medal became the property of his widow, Mrs. Ann Bull Washington, from whom with proper certificates and vouchers, by the generous co-operation of fifty citizens of Boston, it has now been secured to the permanent ownership of this city, with which it is so gratefully identified, and has been deposited in the Public Library.

Thus it appears that the Medal has been transmitted through the descendants, in successive generations, of General Washington's elder brother. They have fully appreciated its intrinsic and symbolic value, and have anxiously taken care for its safety under the risks and perils which have attended its preservation. It is, itself, a most beautiful and perfect specimen of workmanship of the die and mint, and is without a blemish or any perceptible wear of its sharp outlines. During our civil war its then owner, George Lafayette Washington, was residing eleven miles from Harper's Ferry, on the main route to Winchester, where the belligerents held alternate possession. The Medal, in its original case of green seal-skin, lined with velvet, was enveloped in cotton, and, deposited in a box, was buried in the dry cellar of a venerable mansion where General Washington usually spent many months of the genial portion of the year. The original case, which fell into decay by this exposure, accompanies the Medal in its present repository.

The successive owners of this precious heir-loom have often been solicited to part with it by private importunity, or for public institutions, but have always declined to do so, having in view that if ever it passed out of their hands it should be to find its resting-place in the City of Boston. The losses to which its owners were subjected during the late war, concurring with the interest of the occasion of the centennial day which it commemorated, combined to induce the measures which have had such a felicitous result.

A member of the Washington family residing in Texas, being aware of the willingness of his kinswoman in Delaware to part with the Medal, on the conditions just referred to, addressed a letter, on the 6th of last December, to his Honor, Mayor Cobb, making proposals to bring about the intended object.

As the Mayor did not judge it expedient to propose any official action to the city government, he consulted with the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop on the subject, who immediately prepared a subscription paper, which he, with the hearty co-operation of the Mayor and of ex-Mayor the Hon. Otis Norcross, succeeded in having filled to the necessary amount.

While this measure was in progress the Rev. Dr. Clemson, the uncle of the late George Lafayette Washington, and the father of his widow, Mrs. Ann Bull Washington, not being aware of the facts just stated, on February 22, 1876, addressed a letter to the Hon. John C. Park, of this city, opening a direct communication between the owner of the Medal and those who were interested in its transfer. In this letter Dr. Clemson writes: "I might state that the Medal was verbally purchased by Governor Andrew, of your State, and on this honored day [the birthday of Washington] was to have been presented to your citizens. But his premature death prevented the consummation."

This Medal, of which a description will be found in the following pages of this volume, was the only gold medal given by Congress to General Washington. Between the date of March 25, 1776, when this gift was bestowed by a resolve of Congress, and the year 1786, by votes of the same body, a series of ten more gold medals was struck at the Paris mint commemorative of the great events and the great men of the War of the Revolution. The French Government presented a set of these in silver, including also one in the same metal of that which had been given to him

in gold, to General Washington. It is asserted that they were prepared substantially under the direction of Lafayette. This series of eleven, known as the "Washington Medals," on the decease of the childless General, were disposed of with other similar treasures, under the direction of his administrator, Judge Bushrod Washington, among the heirs-at-law. They afterwards came into the possession of the Hon. Daniel Webster, and, soon after his decease, into the hands of his friend, the Hon. Peter Harvey, of Boston. This gentleman, in April, 1874, most generously bestowed them upon the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose cabinet they are now gratefully treasured. Thus all the "*Washington Medals*" are now in the City of Boston.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CITY COUNCIL RELATIVE TO THE WASHINGTON MEDAL.

At a meeting of the Board of Aldermen, March 20, 1876, the following communication was received: —

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, March 20, 1876.

TO THE HONORABLE THE CITY COUNCIL: —

Gentlemen, — It affords me much pleasure to inform you that the gold Medal presented to General George Washington by the American Congress in 1776, commemorative of the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, was recently purchased of the Washington family by a few of our citizens, to be given by them to the City of Boston and preserved in the Boston Public Library. This most valuable relic, so peculiarly interesting to Boston as commemorating the most important event in her history, has been placed in my hands, and by me transferred to the Trustees of the Public Library, in whose custody it is to remain, in accordance with the wishes of the donors. A copy of the subscription list, with the preamble stating the object of the subscription, is enclosed herewith.

SAMUEL C. COBB, *Mayor*.

[COPY.]

The large gold Medal presented to Washington, by Congress, for his services in expelling the British forces from Boston on the 17th of March, 1776, having remained in the Washington family for a hundred years, is now, owing to the circumstances of its immediate owner, privately offered for sale. The undersigned, feeling deeply that such a memorial should be among the most cherished treasures of our city, and should certainly go nowhere else, hereby agree to be responsible to an amount not exceeding one hundred dollars each, for the purchase of the Medal, to be presented to the City of Boston, and preserved forever in the Boston Public Library.

DECEMBER, 1875.

Robert C. Winthrop,	S. D. Warren,	George W. Wales,
John Amory Lowell,	Nathaniel J. Bradlee,	E. R. Mudge,
W. Amory,	J. Ingersoll Bowditch,	William W. Tucker,
John L. Gardner,	Henry L. Pierce,	Henry G. Denny,
Samuel C. Cobb,	T. G. Appleton,	James L. Little,
Robert M. Mason,	William Appleton,	P. C. Brooks,
Charles Francis Adams,	William Endicott, Jr.	Sidney Brooks,
Otis Norcross,	Charles Faulkner,	Isaac Thacher,
N. Thayer,	Henry Lee,	Henry A. Whitney,
Cora F. Shaw,	William S. Appleton,	Richard C. Greenleaf,
Martin Brimmer,	Mary Brewer,	Thomas Wigglesworth,
William Gaston,	C. A. Brewer,	Alvah A. Burrage,
Edward Austin,	George C. Richardson,	Alexander H. Rice,
Abbott Lawrence,	Amos A. Lawrence,	James Davis,
H. P. Kidder,	Eben D. Jordan,	E. B. Bigelow,
James Parker,	Walter Hastings,	Charles Whitney.
H. H. Hunnewell,	J. Huntington Wolcott,	

Sent down.

At the meeting of the Common Council, March 23d, the communication was read and placed on file, and Mr. Guild, of Ward 9, after some appropriate remarks, offered the following resolves: —

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to Hon. Robert C. Winthrop and his associates, for their active interest and successful effort in procuring and presenting to the City Council of Boston the valuable Medal which was given to General Washington in commemoration of his distinguished services in compelling the surrender of the Town of Boston by the British Army in 1776.

Resolved, That the members of the City Council are especially gratified that this precious memorial of Washington is henceforth to abide in this city, whose relief from peril was the occasion of its emission one hundred years ago.

The resolves were read twice and passed.

Sent up for concurrence.

In Board of Aldermen, March 27, 1876, the foregoing resolves were passed in concurrence, and were approved by the Mayor March 28, 1876.

SERVICES IN MUSIC HALL.

SERVICES IN MUSIC HALL.

The Music Hall was well filled by an intelligent and appreciative audience, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the occasion. The Legislature, the City Council, and members of the City Government occupied seats upon the floor. Upon the platform were seated the principal civil, military and naval United States officers; His Excellency the Governor and Staff; His Honor the Lieutenant Governor; His Honor the Mayor; the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, together with many leading citizens.

The decorations were confined almost entirely to the platform, and were appropriate to the occasion. In front of the organ, extending from one side of the platform to the other and half way to the ceiling, was a maroon-colored curtain, the border trimmed with bunting of the national colors. In the centre of the upper edge was a tablet bearing the date "1776," surmounted by an eagle. At the corners to the right and left respectively were facsimiles of the obverse and reverse of the Washington Medal. Below the centre tablet hung a white banner bearing upon it a representation of the Pine-Tree. Below this was an English flag and a representation of the first American flag, the staffs crossed. The front of the platform was decorated with evergreens and calla lilies. Upon the face of the upper balcony was a representation of the city seal, decorated with bunting of the national colors.

Attached to the front of the reading desk was the old oaken tablet, bearing, in carving, the King's Arms, taken from the Province

House a hundred years ago; preserved in the cabinet of the Mass. Historical Society, and loaned for the occasion.

At 2.30 o'clock, after music by the Germania Band, His Honor the Mayor addressed the audience in the following words: —

The members of this assembly are invited to give their attention while prayer is offered by the Rev. Dr. Manning, and at the close to unite in repeating the Lord's prayer.

Rev. Dr. Manning, pastor of the Old South Church, then offered the following prayer: —

PRAYER BY REV. DR. MANNING.

Almighty God, whom we worship as the maker and upholder of worlds; we give Thee our humble and most hearty thanks for all Thy favor and mercy toward our native land. Especially do we now thank Thee for Thy goodness to this beloved Commonwealth: for Thy favoring providence in the days of its infancy and feebleness; and for the men whom Thou didst raise up in our own city, at the time to which our thoughts now go back, who forsook their homes and their dearest treasures and associations, and risked their lives, that they might drive out the armed invader, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and to us their children. We thank Thee for the great deliverance which Thou didst send them, which we are this day met to commemorate. We thank Thee that the mother-country, that Old England whose oppressions provoked our fathers to take up arms against her, is to-day our firm friend and ally among the nations of the earth; and that the mother and daughter are united in

178620 1

efforts to maintain a spirit of peace and good-will between themselves, and to extend the blessings of a Christian civilization throughout the world. We thank Thee that Thou hast preserved to so great a degree the valor and soundness of our New England stock, so that to-day the eyes of the nation are turned hitherward in the time of extremity, for men who shall stem the floods of corruption at home, and who shall worthily represent our spirit and guard our interests in foreign courts. Prepare us now, we beseech Thee, to profit by the lessons of historic scenes and events which may pass in review before our minds. Let it be impressed upon us, while we are listening to Thy servant, that a pure and upright character is the most precious relic of our past history which we can cherish; and that such a character, built up in us and our children, is the noblest monument we can erect to the memory of the men who laid the foundations of our government. Bless, we beseech Thee, our entire land; all its rulers and all its people. Bless this beloved Commonwealth, the citizens and those who are in authority over us. Be gracious unto the city in which we dwell, bestowing Thy favor upon its government, upon its industries, upon its churches, its schools and its homes. Let us never degenerate from the heights of moral excellence where our fathers stood. But as the centuries pass away, one after another, may the character of our people be lifted nearer and nearer to that perfect standard of rectitude which is set before us in the teachings and example of Thy Son, Jesus Christ.

Our Father, which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth as

it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

At the conclusion of the prayer, the Germania Band played a selection, after which the Mayor spoke as follows: —

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF MAYOR COBB.

Fellow Citizens: — One hundred years ago to-day the British army, after standing a siege of almost a year, vacated the town of Boston at daybreak, and sailed down the harbor, bound for Halifax. The Continental troops immediately marched in and took triumphant possession. From that day to this no hostile force has trod the streets of the good old town. The nearest approach to such a humiliation was in 1863, when the Confederate army, at the culminating point of its successes and hopes, reached Gettysburg. That army did not arrive in Boston at that time. It did arrive on the 17th of June, 1875, by some of its representative organizations; not, however, breathing threatenings and slaughter, but bearing the olive-branch of Peace, coming with fraternal confidence and receiving a fraternal welcome; and on this very platform placed the palmetto beside the pine-tree, — the two symbols never to be separated again, so they said, and so we said.

In a like spirit we will celebrate this anniversary of the Evacuation, hoping, amid the grateful and patriotic memories that cluster about the occasion, to strengthen still further the bonds of concord between the lately hostile

sections of the country, and also the relations of cordial amity between the revolted colonies and the mother-country, — foes a hundred years ago, but friends to-day by every motive of mutual interest and every sentiment of kinship and every generous hope for the world's peace and the progress of humanity.

We do well, fellow-citizens, in coming together to-day to listen to the story of the Siege and Evacuation. The telling of it has been confided to one eminently fitted by his studies and tastes to tell it thoroughly and well.

May we so listen to it as to be inspired with new thankfulness to the God who upheld our fathers in their great struggle, and who has carried their children through all the trials and perils of the century, and with new vows of devotion to the unity and welfare of our country, our whole country, and the preservation and purity of its institutions.

By a most happy coincidence with the spirit of this occasion, I am privileged to announce a circumstance which will be a welcome delight to all our citizens. The orator of the day would have had to remind you, that, in commemoration of the great event of this day, and as an expression of the profound respect of the people for Washington, — the head of our armies, — the Congress at Philadelphia, which had appointed him to his command, on learning that he had regained the possession of Boston, passed votes expressing their warmest praise and gratitude, and providing that a Medal in gold, commemorating the event, should be struck to be presented to him.

That Medal, after the lapse of a hundred years, now visits for the first time the city with which it has so vitally

interesting associations. It has been cherished in the line of the Washington family, fondly prized, and watchfully guarded. It has come here to stay, and is the property of the city. By the consent of its recent owner, and the thoughtful liberality of a few of our citizens, it is henceforward, with proper vouchers for its authenticity and transfer, to be deposited in the Public Library of the city.

I now put it into your hands, sir, as you are about to rehearse the history of the event which it commemorates.

At the conclusion of the Mayor's remarks, the orator of the day, George E. Ellis, D.D., delivered the following address: —

[The address is here printed at length, as it was written. Considerable parts of it were omitted in the delivery.]

ADDRESS OF GEORGE E. ELLIS, D. D.

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens: —

The Memorial Medal which you have put into my hands is itself the golden text, and substantially the orator and the discourse of this Centennial Day. In the discharge of the grateful and enviable office which you have assigned to me, I can at best but interpret the device and expand the legend of this precious token. Wrought of the purest of the metals, coined into gratitude and reverence, a magnetic power of subtle and refining potency ought to inhere in it from the pure hands into which it first came.

It was the first gift, a complimentary tribute accompanying a hearty recognition of high service, — made by what we must call, by anticipation, our republic. It expressed the incipient nation's gratitude to its foremost man, then, ever since, and never more than now. An illegal assembly of delegates meeting at Philadelphia, from twelve rebelling colonies, — not yet asserting their Independence, but writing loyally their grievances and petitions to the King of Great Britain, who had expressly forbidden their assembling, — had nevertheless commissioned a military chieftain to head and lead an array of armed patriots against the invading forces of that mon-

arch. He had done so for nine of the eleven months through which those troops, reinforced and supplied by a fleet in the open harbor, had been beleaguered on this peninsula. The skill and energy of that commander devised measures by which the humiliated army and fleet of Britain were driven away, never to return here again.

The Congress at Philadelphia — a thirteenth colony being now represented in it — voted its thanks and gratitude to the commander-in-chief, and provided for this golden medal to be struck and presented to him. John Adams, with two associates, was charged with arranging for its device and inscription, when it should be struck in Paris. The decorator of this hall for to-day's exercises has thrown out the semblance of the medal, in proportions not one whit too enlarged. It bears, on the obverse, a profile head of Washington, — said to have been an admirable likeness, — encircled with an inscription in Latin, which reads in English, — "The American Congress to George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of its Armies : The Assertor of Liberty." On the reverse, Washington and his aids appear on horseback on the Heights of Dorchester, amid field-works and muniments, the town of Boston in view, while the chief points to the fleet of vessels, whose sterns show that they are leaving the harbor. The inscription, Englished, is, "The enemy being first routed, Boston was recovered March xvii. MDCCLXXVI."

There was an anticipation of triumph and of fame in this public gift, made at so early a stage in a long struggle, and in the opening of the national career of the august commander. Lofty and yet modest in its self-regards as was the dignity of his spirit, was not this

treasured gift, sometimes taken from its repository and in the retirement and home privacy of Washington, fondly gazed upon, with the reckonings of memory and a good conscience, in recalling tranquilly the anxious past? The medal, fully appreciated for its intrinsic and symbolic value, has been transmitted through the family of his elder brother. During our civil war it was held by those who lived where the combatants on either side were changing places. Then, for safe-keeping, it was buried in the ground some eleven miles from Harper's Ferry. Under ground was the proper place for it then; for it was not meet that it should be in the sunlight during the struggle over the life of the nation which Washington had created and saved. Shall we not all rejoice, fellow-citizens, that just after a century has transpired since a great enterprise was consummated, this memorial of it has found its shrine in this rescued city?

It will be for the scholar, the orator, and statesman who worthily owns the name and lineage of the honored and revered founder of this Town and State, in the glorious summer month of the Nation's Centennial, to give eloquent voice to the echo of a hundred years of the proclamation of that nation's birth. My word is limited to this old peninsula of Boston. The event to-day commemorated, alike in the protracted and weary work which culminated in it, and in its place and import in the yet more protracted series of struggles which it opened, has its transcendent interest and glory. We commemorate the Centennial of the one most memorable day in all the two and a half centuries of the history of Boston, — the day on which the only hostile force that has ever occupied

it was driven from it, that its scattered inhabitants might return to their own homes and peaceful ways of honest industry. The theme is not one for rhetorical ornament, nor for ideal, imaginative flights. Its historic facts carry with them stirred emotions and instructive lessons. This is the one day in the long series of centennial commemorations, extending through seven years, that belongs especially and exclusively to this dear old town of Boston, — the day of its great deliverance from pestilence, sword and famine. I must, therefore, look upon and address all around me as natives of Boston; or, in the exceptional cases of those of you who may not be so, as, while duly deploring the misfortune, at least its good citizens, including the sex that does not yet vote. Let us recall the old town as it was at the time with which we have to deal.

OLD BOSTON.

It was a pear-shaped peninsula, less than two miles in its extreme length, and but little more than one in its greatest breadth. It hung to the main land at Roxbury by a slender stem or neck, of a mile in length, so low and narrow between tide-washed flats that it was often submerged. It was occupied by the first colonists here as their capital, because of these natural features; its sea-front, its water-borderings, and the ease of defending it at the Neck against Indians and wolves. There was a barrier constructed for this purpose near where the strong lines and defences of our besieged enemy were planted. The territorial area and aspect of the peninsula had been scarcely changed at all, in their natural features, at

the time of the siege from what they were when it was first settled. Extraordinary changes have been made since, most of them within the last half century. The original seven hundred acres of solid land have now become nearly fifteen hundred. The gain has been made by reclaiming the broad, oozy salt marshes, the estuaries, coves and bays, once stretching wide on its northern and southern bounds. Where the area was then the narrowest it is now the widest. Besides the two elevations, Copp's and Fort Hill, which rose on the northern and southern ends of the promontory, another with triple summits — the only one of which that remains is the site of the State House — gave the name of Tri-mountain, or Tremont, to the settlement. The sharp declivities and bold undulations of the surface of the peninsula had not been disturbed at the time of the siege. The hundred thoroughfares, lanes and alleys, with their narrow courts and sinuous windings, have been broadened and straightened and extended and multiplied; the whole surface has been levelled and graded, every square inch of it has been turned over and over, and it has been burrowed under ground as diligently as it has been coursed above. More labor and money have been expended upon the mere soil of this peninsula than upon the land surface of all our other old cities. The granite ledges of the coast and of the interior, the forests of Maine, the sand and gravel of our country hills, have been deposited here to give us deep water margins, to fringe off our marshes, and to make new territory. Abounding bridges and causeways make us forget that this town ever was a peninsula. The thought not irreverently suggests itself that if the Crea-

tor — as we used to say — but as science is now trying to teach us to phrase it, if the Evolving Power, had had regard to our wishes as to the disposal of land and water in this neighborhood, we might have been relieved of much cost and toil. The numerous islands in our beautiful bay bore still some remnants of their original woods, or were covered with tilled fields and pastures for flocks.

The old town had been for nearly a hundred and fifty years the scene of peace, thrift and happiness — with the buffetings of human experience mingled in — for exiles, almost wholly from England, with their descendants. Just previous to the time of its sharp trial it was a privileged and an enviable heritage. It enjoyed an entail of blessings from the toils of a laborious, virtuous and God-fearing ancestry, and from a softened, but not repudiated, Puritan sway in its households and modes of life. From extant letters, diaries, family traditions, mercantile ledgers and drawings, the old town may be set forth with such charms of thrift and comfort, and tranquil prosperity, as to draw from some of its present citizens regrets that their times had not been then rather than now. Its homes and marts of business were occupied by people, mostly of one race and mother country and language, with common memories, traditions and interests. One little rill, and that from a most healthful and welcome stream, had then flowed in from a foreign source, giving us, with the Huguenot exiles, names gratefully cherished among us, as Bowdoin, Faneuil, Bassett, Sigourney, Johonnott, Dupee, Chardon, and others.

"Well-to-do," "fore-handed," were the local phrases by which the general condition of the people would have

been described. There was real wealth, too, in the hands of some, with complacency, luxury and display. There were stately and substantial dwellings, with rich and solid furnishings, for parlor, dining-room, hall and chamber, with plate and tapestry, brocades and laces. There were portraits, by foreign and resident artists, of those who were ancestors, and of those who meant to be ancestors. There were formal costumes and manners for the gentry, with parade and etiquette, a self-respecting decorum in intercourse with their own and other classes, warm hospitality, good appetites, and abundant viands, liquid and solid, for all. The buildings were detached, none of them in blocks. The homes of many of the merchant princes and high magistrates were relatively more palatial than are any in the city to-day. They stood conspicuous and large, surrounded by generous spaces, with lawns and trees, with fruit and vegetable gardens, and fields for pasture, and coach and cattle barns. There were fine equipages, with black coachmen and footmen. There were still wide unfenced spaces, declivities and thickets, where the barberry bush, the flag and the mullen-stalk grew undisturbed. There were many quaint old nooks and corners, taverns and inns, "coffee-houses" — the drinking-vessels in which were not especially adapted to that beverage — shops designated by emblems and symbols, loitering places for news and gossip, resorts of boys and negroes for play or roguery, and some dark holes on wharf or lane. Boston was the chief mart of the province, which numbered nearly 349,000 when New York had 238,000. The inhabitants in the town were about 17,000. There were some 2,000 buildings, four being of

stone, of which King's Chapel alone remains. Between Beacon and the foot of Park street, stood the Work-house, the Poor-house and the Bridewell, all facing the Common. On the site of the Park-street church stood the Granary; opposite, a large manufactory building, used by the British for a hospital. The Jail occupied the site of the present Court-House. King and Queen, now State and Court streets, were the most compactly covered and lined by taverns, dwellings, marts and offices of exchange. The house provided by the province for the British Governor was opposite the Old South, standing far back, stately, commodious, with trees and lawn up to Washington street. The Old State House, with a dignity which it has not now, held the halls of the Council and the Representatives, with royal portraits and adornings. How little is there here now which the patriots and citizens of the old days, if they came back, would recognize! They would think that we had set ourselves to obliterate all traces of them and their ways. We cannot but regret the removal of all our old landmarks, and the changing of ancient names for new. True, the surface of the earth and its superstructures belong to the living generation, to be disposed wholly for its comfort and convenience. The dead can claim only a resting-place beneath it. They have by no means secured even that always here; and if they should come out from their repose many would have to select their grave-stones from an ornamental border, or would wonder how other people's names were inscribed over their tenements. In the interest of historians, surveyors, searchers of titles, of those who would know how things looked and were called before they were born, and

who would be reasonably sure that they hold the fee of their own graves, let there be henceforward no needless changing of names, except it may be to restore old ones. For we not only wish to know our fathers, but should wish them to know us.

Yet, as the years of strife were approaching, there had come in one qualifying element to the internal harmony and security of old Boston, for there were those under its roofs a century ago who were divided against themselves. For more than a half of its first hundred years the town and the colony had been substantially independent of all foreign control; pursuing industry and trade on its own resources; choosing its own magistrates and holding them to account; making and administering its own laws; fighting its own battles with Indians, Dutch and Frenchmen; never, even in poverty or stress of peril, asking, but rather repudiating, public aid from abroad. King and Parliament had been tolerated as undesired correspondents, for remonstrant and deferential, and rather melancholy letters, but the ocean and some other things had had a very chilling effect upon love. English armies had begun to find their way hither, to fight with us, or for us, incidentally to the more exigent purpose of driving the French off the continent; and, of course, England wanted remuneration for these services. For more than three quarters of a century before the war, this province, which had prospered best when most neglected, which had earned all the liberties it claimed, and never, for a moment, really yielded, had fallen under the sway of foreign masters.

By its second charter, King, Ministry and Parliament, represented here by crown officials, overruled those legis-

lative and judicial functions which had previously been freely disposed by the people. Boston became, in miniature, a vice-royalty, with court and church. A subtle but potent influence brought in foreign interests and regards, feelings and manners, fashions and distinctions. The old sterling, thrifty, frugal stock of the people, holding their independence as toughly as a tradition, as they were about by fighting to make it a certainty, could not and would not harmonize with this new element. They would bow, but they would not bend. They would petition, but they would not comply. They would chaffer, but would ratify no bargain about liberty.

Trade, too, though it had enriched, had demoralized a portion of the community; for nine-tenths of that trade was what is known in law as smuggling. A thousand vessels cleared from Boston in a year, coursing our coasts and skimming all open seas. The revenue laws imposed by Parliament, to restrain the internal and the foreign traffic and commerce of the colonies, were so onerous and severe, that our people acted on the assumption, long before they fought for and assured it, that the king of England had no right to a revenue from this side of the water, no more than any one can draw checks on a bank in which he has made no deposit. All manufactures, even of articles of prime necessity, from our own raw materials even, were strictly prohibited. Our people did not mean to be poor. They wished to keep their own books. They objected to a partnership which did not increase their capital, nor extend the good-will of their concern.

So that with the crown officials resident here, their descendants, their satellites, and a class of merchants

whose interests, as traders, were rather with England than with America, we find the keen and vigorous materials of a party within the town hostile to its local and traditional spirit. To these are to be added alike in the town, and throughout this as well as in the other provinces, a few men, high-minded and true-hearted, intelligent, respected for talent, culture, position and influence, who, with fond clingings to the mother-country, or with halting judgments as they cast the horoscope of the future, or with timid misgivings as to the probable issue of rebellion, shrank from a decision, put in cautions, raised remonstrances, or were goaded by the impatience or rudeness of popular measures into committing themselves to the doomed side. These loyalists, tories, "government-men," while being jealously watched and harshly treated by the liberty party, were correspondingly flattered and cajoled by the crown officials with promises of immunity and compensation. But all the inhabitants of the town, rebels and tories alike, were to be common sufferers in the fate awaiting them.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE SIEGE.

In this warring and distracted world, sieges, the beleaguerment of towns, cities and fortresses, by forces on sea or land, form one of the largest and most exciting elements of all history. A list of them might be classified, and duplicated even, under all the letters of the alphabet, tossing in strange confusion the troubled annals of all lands and all epochs. Stories of skilled manœuvre and artful stratagem, stories of harrowing suffering and of sublime heroism, wrought into thrilling narratives of prose, or

sung in the music and rhythm of immortal poetry, rehearse for us the literature of sieges. We run over, in memory, the leading names of that alphabetical list, with Acre and Babylon, Calais and Derry, Gibraltar, Jerusalem, Lucknow, Malta and Metz, Paris and Pampeluna, Rochelle, Saragossa and Sevastopol and Troy, not forgetting the atrocities and the nobleness so glowingly presented by our own Motley in his history of the beleagured cities of the Netherlands.

The passions of love and hate, of creed and empire, of blood and dynasties, have been the weapons of assailers or defenders; and with rare exceptions, in all sieges, the enemy has been without the citadel, and those within it have been guarding their own homes. But this old town of Boston a century ago was invested by its own people against a foe who held it in thrall. The story of the contention, running through the ten previous years, which resulted in seven years of war on this continent, is, or ought to be, familiar for this Centennial season to all who hear me. The record and the spectacle, as confined simply to this spot of earth, and crowded with matter of surpassing interest, are more than enough for our hurried glance to-day.

The descendants of those exiles who, a century and a half before, had settled upon this rough and barren promontory, had turned weakness to strength, and had attained thrift and vigor from their rugged conditions. The spirit of liberty was in their souls, and the power to maintain it was in their veins and fibre. They always had been free, in night, in distance, in neglect, and even in contempt. And they meant to be free, when, hopefully

and happily gathering the harvest from a hard soil and a hard tillage, they had become a coveted prize for parliamentary spoil and a royal revenue. Seven years before the catastrophe, crews of foreign sailors, and marines to protect its landing, had brought from over the seas a detachment of the royal army, who had taken military possession of this town. Bad and treacherous advices from crown officials here had been stealthily sent to the royal cabinet that two regiments of British regulars would overawe and crush out the demagogue spirit of a few restless men who were here fomenting rebellion. The further advices — a trifle, but not much wiser — were that five regiments would sweep the continent of rebellion. The larger number was multiplied many times, with mercenary allies, too; but the continent was too large and hard for the broom. Protests, pleadings and remonstrances, with tongue and pen, had exhausted all their peaceful methods against the quartering of troops in the town. But still they came, with arrogance, insult and defiance, and finally held the town against the dwellers in its homes. The farmers and mechanics of the adjoining country, in this environment of hill and valley, gathered almost in a circle around them, and bade them stay strictly in the close quarters where they were so unwelcome, or take themselves off by the water-way on which they came. Both parties, in due time, as we shall see, came to accord in the latter alternative.

This beleaguerment of the soldiers of his Majesty on the little peninsula which they had invaded was the natural, though somewhat protracted, result of every preceding incident in the controversy. If such troops

came hither at all, the law provided for them barracks at the Castle, as the cows had a vested right to the Common, and the citizens to their streets and buildings. The commander even had the confidence to demand that the province should pay these troops; a proposition which, of course, was not approved. The town-meetings were from the first, and all along to the siege, the great resource of the inhabitants, where courage and shrewdness, temporizing or firm decision, met every emergency as it arose. When the mischief of these Boston town-meetings was realized by the royal councillors, their General was ordered to forbid the calling of another. But the selectmen replied that they had no occasion to call another, as the last one was kept alive by adjournment. So the General wrote back, that, for all that he could see, or say, or do, one town-meeting might extend through ten years.

What the people had foreboded from the presence of the soldiers occurred in due time, on March 5, 1770, when a squad of them, on being annoyed and insulted by a few boys and their abettors, fired upon the crowd. The so-called "Horrid Massacre" furnished the theme for the annual oration on that day — "The Danger of Standing Armies in Populous Towns in Times of Peace." The occasion was duly honored by the appointed orator, six years afterwards, in Watertown, as the troops were preparing to evacuate. The destruction of the tea in our harbor, in December, 1773, was followed by the vindictive Parliamentary Bill, which tightly closed the Port of Boston to all commerce and water intercourse on June 1st, 1774, the day on which, with the melancholy tolling of

muffled bells, fitly enough, Hutchinson embarked for England.

From that vengeful measure, more than from any other single event, may be dated the succession of measures upon both sides — though still to be wearily and wofully deferred for its final act — which broke the bond between England and her American colonies. In the pitiful condition to which it was now reduced, the melancholy and starving town appealed to the other towns in this province, and to the other provinces, and made its own cause one of warning and concern to the whole continent. The appeals were nobly answered, and generous contributions of goods, and food and money were made to the stricken and impoverished people from all the seaboard and inland settlements, including even Canada. A generous gift from the future commander appears on the list. Then came a royal breach of the organic provisions of the Province Charter, assuming for the King the appointment by mandamus of the Governor's councillors, and subverting the securities for the conduct of courts of justice. In the judgment of reason and equity, not as a prompting of passion, this royal breach was regarded as arresting the royal sway in this province. Henceforward the King's Governor became a military general instead of a civil magistrate; his official power was restricted immediately to this peninsula, or to whatever range he might cover with his forces. The province, as we shall see, first of its own impulse, and then by help of advice from the Continental Congress, took measures for forming and administering, as a substitute, a popular government. That train of measures was initiated in a Massachusetts Assembly, at

Salem, in June, 1774, meeting with doors locked against the governor's vetoing messenger, when delegates were commissioned to a Continental Congress. Committees of Correspondence busily pursued their sympathetic tasks. Attempts, once baffled and once successful, were made by detachments of soldiers to seize supplies which the province was beginning to gather for the impending strife. Against the remonstrances of the Selectmen of Boston, enforced by those of the Continental Congress, General Gage renewed and strengthened the fortifications on the Neck, alleging that he did not design to prevent free ingress and egress, but only to protect his own troops. His official spies had more than once been sent out into the adjoining country, and returned with over-estimates of the stores which the provincials were gathering. Our Centennial of the last year told us all there is to be told of the raid of April 19, after the stores at Concord, with the British invasion of the country, and of the humiliation of the disorderly return to town. Better would it have been for them then had they tarried longer in Charlestown. Certain ventures made by the provincials to secure hay and live stock upon the harbor islands, in defiance of British gunboats, fill the interval to the day of Bunker Hill. The story of that, too, has been exhaustively told.

THE CLOSING IN OF BOSTON.

The first stage in the investment of Boston, for the purpose of confining the royal forces to the peninsula, began on the evening of the day of Concord and Lexington. Minute-men, farmers, mechanics, and miscellaneous bands and groups, with such weapons as they could put their

hands on, and such rations as their households furnished for the moment, gathered upon every foot of soil on the surrounding main land of hill, field and marsh. They changed day by day for nearly a year ensuing, but only by substitution of persons and material. They came first as startled men rush out to a conflagration, and stay by to watch lest it should spread. Cattle were still browsing in the pastures, and horses were tethered to the carts they had drawn with their rustic freight. The picturesque groups, in the homely array of the farm or the workshop, with their arbors or shanties, and an occasional tent extemporized from a fishing-smack, as seen from a quiet distance might have suggested a gypsy encampment, or a spring picnic. But they stayed there so long and to such purpose, with such a work to do, and under the training of such a master mind and hand, as to become an army, uniformed, drilled, disciplined and officered for a campaign after the stern methods of war. The beleaguerment and investment of the little sea-washed peninsula, which were to extend steadily, with sterner clasp and throttle for the eleven ensuing months, began then. There was still some passing in and out of the town, by land or water, under surveillance, allowed by privilege, or for purposes of necessity, or seized by spies, informers, deserters, or those of adventurous daring. But the invading forces were held to their contracted quarters, and henceforward were deprived of vegetables and fresh provisions, except such as they could seize from the islands, or obtain by a supply vessel. Then came the aggravation of the miseries of the patriotic inhabitants of the town, insulted by the military, sneered at by their own fellow-citizens, — who boastfully

held, as royalists, to what they trusted was to be the winning side, — straitened for the usual supplies of life, and reasonably apprehensive of pestilence and famine within, and of a full share in the perils of an assault from their friends outside.

REMOVAL OF THE INHABITANTS OF BOSTON.

Before the battle in Charlestown the distress and the dreads of most of the 17,000 inhabitants of the town induced them to make an appeal to Gen. Gage for liberty to leave it, as the fortifications on the Neck were rigidly guarded, the ferry-ways were closed, and not even a fishing-boat could leave the wharves. The alternative of leaving or remaining was an embarrassing and cruel one for the people themselves; and the granting or refusing permission was an equally perplexed and balanced alternative to the General. A protracted town-meeting in Faneuil Hall, including the whole of a Sunday, presided over by James Bowdoin, with prayer by Dr. Eliot, was excitedly given to the matter. The result was a covenant, by which the General agreed that such citizens, with their families, as wished to go out, on depositing their arms, and agreeing not to take part in an assault on the town, should have passes, and facilities by boat or carriage, for leaving with their effects. Those who sought the liberty surrendered their weapons, and were prepared to desert their homes and warehouses, yielding them to risks of plunder, fire and destruction, to give up their occupations for a livelihood, and to take their chance, as dependents on their country friends. But the General faltered in his part of the covenant, alleging that arms and even cannon had been

carted out of the town, hidden under loads of manure and by other tricks. The loyalists in the town protested against a measure which, in depriving it of all who sympathized with the rebels outside, strengthened their cause and interest, and would make them more inclined to bombard the garrison and all who were left in it. Under their outcries, backed by the advice of some of his remaining councillors, Gage withheld the promised facilities for exit, made it difficult for any to obtain passes, positively forbade them to some applicants, limited the meaning of the word effects to clothing and household furniture, excluding goods, food, and even medicines, and thus aggravated at once anxiety for escape from the town, and the difficulty of securing it. The exigencies of the case, however, compelled him to allow the exit of a large proportion of the people, while he forbade the selectmen, and individuals of whom he was jealous, to join them. Gladly did he rid himself of the infirm and poor, the sick, women and children.

It was estimated that before the battle in Charlestown 10,000 of the inhabitants had left the two peninsulas. All such of the exiles as had not friends willing and able to receive them were provided for by the province, with a tenderly-guarded condition that they were not to be held to be paupers, but sustained by a fixed weekly allowance. In many cases, one or more members of a family, or agents of merchants, remained in town to guard interests or property at risk, and others, as just stated, were compelled to stay. So it happened that households were cruelly separated during the whole siege, never seeing their several members, imagining and foreboding all forms of evil; and if occasionally communicating at the lines, or by letters,

being deprived of all privacy, as interviews were watched, and letters were opened on both sides. There was not then, nor is there to-day, a community of the same size on this peopled earth that would have been, or could be, more grievously racked and shattered, more distracted and riven in wretchedness and ruin, than were the town and people of Boston under these rueful experiences. Trade, industry, security, all paralyzed; school and family discipline, Sunday ways, habits of order, obedience and reverence at once discredited; sickness unsolaced; death hung over with deeper shadows, and every bitter drop, not yet in the cup of miseries, reasonably anticipated as about to mingle in it, — all these were the beginning of sorrows. It was characteristic alike of the descent and the habits and principles of the people, that arrested apprenticeships, closed schools, and defiled churches and prostrate family altars, were often first and most mournfully spoken of as deepening the gloom of the siege. It is also a matter of authentic and suggestive meaning that even the poorest mechanics and carpenters, of the native stock left in the town, refused the temptation of high wages to work on the construction of barracks for the British soldiers, as the cold weather was coming on. The provincial authorities, at the request of General Gage, reciprocated his allowance of the departure of unsympathizing inhabitants from Boston, by permitting certain country tories to seek a refuge in the town, among congenial fellowships. As the event proved, it would have been far wiser for them to have remained outside, debating their variances and making their

peace. A bitter destiny of misery, exile and poverty was before them.

In the battle at Charlestown the British forces gained one square mile of the territory of the continent they were to sweep, and lost a thousand men. Nor was this their whole loss, nor the most enfeebling element in it. In that conflict they parted with their conceit and assurance that they had before them only the inglorious, though easy, task of dealing with mobs of poltroons and cowards, who could bluster, but would not fight, even in self-defence. The revelations made in the abounding reports and letters which have since come to light, as sent to England after that engagement, offer impressive, and often amusing, evidence that officers and men had been roused to a sense of the seriousness of the task before them, and would readily have given over alike its glory and its risk. They had now two little sea-washed peninsulas to hold and guard for summer and winter quarters. The patriots, griping them at both necks, pestered them with many annoyances, planning mischief also for the ships in the bay, and making bold raids on the crops and flocks of the islands. The besiegers began to look less and less like a gypsy encampment, or a picnic. They themselves came from four provinces, from which also, in some mysterious way, unaided by magazines or a commissariat, they drew such abundant supplies of food that there was even waste of it. After a certain fashion, too, they had officers. Such of them as were not housed in the college buildings and in neighboring dwellings erected shelters near the hills which they fortified.

Three distinct themes of separate, though of related and

absorbing interest, present themselves, as requiring thought and notice in rehearsing the Siege of Boston, viz., the work of civilians in providing and administering a government; the training of the patriot forces in camp, and also of their commander; and the experiences of the beleaguered town.

CIVILIANS CONSTRUCTING A GOVERNMENT DURING THE SIEGE.

It is to be remembered that, during the whole siege, Massachusetts was still, at best, but one first of Twelve, then of Thirteen United British Colonies, not yet United States. The bond of allegiance was not severed, nor the pride and love for a foreign fealty yielded up, though hostile forces of the realm had shed blood and were at open war on field and camp. There was an element of the humorous and the grotesque in the situation, if one had heart to trace it out amid the sterner conditions. Curious, perplexing, mystifying it is to the mousing reader to scan the public and private papers of those times. One can easily prove from them that nothing short of rebellion and independence was seen in the vista by those who first opened the debate with the mother-country; and, as easily, that the same men, or their doubles, denied the charge even of sedition, and expressed amazement and dread of the very idea of an assertion of independence. And yet every country town, as well as the capital, was from the first committed, in speech and writing, to claims and covenants which could not possibly stop at any stage short of it. The bird of freedom had got out of its nest and taken wing. Our village orators and nascent politicians became masters in all ob-

jurgatory rhetoric, and in all the ebullitions of patriotism. The dictionaries of those days had been ransacked for all the opprobrious adjectives they could furnish to be attached to the single commodity of Tea, and the most stinging terms were drawn upon in dealing with the measures connected with the decoction that had been made of it in our harbor. The philippics and rallying cries and burning appeals of those days will never lose their latent heat. True, we did not then maintain an eagle at the public expense. But we were in training to use him, with claw and beak, spread-wing and scream, when we should adopt him. It was the birth-time of what has been called American oratory, or Fourth of July eloquence. A writhing patriot embarrassed the digestion of his fellow-citizens by the outburst, "The martial standard of war is erected in the very bowels of your town!" The eagle has now attained his maturity, and we shall approve that he henceforward assume the calm dignity of age.

But during the siege of Boston the pens of sagacious and able men were engaged in more deliberate and tempered efforts than those of the tongues of some ardent orators. They were providing for that most urgent of all social securities, whether in times of peace or of war, the supremacy of the civil over the military power. The royal mandate, in riding over the charter of Massachusetts, had destroyed one branch of its Legislature and subverted its judicial courts. General Gage, by his proclamation of June 12, declaring the province in rebellion, and establishing martial law, with the proscription of patriot leaders, was held to have vacated his civil authority over the province that he might hold military sway over Boston. The

province, therefore, was without a legislature and an executive, without a magistracy and a judiciary. Government was undermined and annulled. The old royal sanction and method of it could not be revived, and it was for the people to decide whether they would dispense with government, or avert anarchy by constituting it. The Provincial Congress, on May 5, accepted the gauge which the garrisoned Governor had thrown down, put their own interpretation upon it, and resolved, "that General Gage had disqualified himself for serving the colony in any capacity; that no obedience was in future due to him; that he ought to be guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy." With a view to an instant provision for the emergency, the Provincial Congress had the ready resource of reverting to their old and honored forms of self-administration, but wisely waited, as did other provinces, for advice from the Continental Congress, about "taking up and exercising the powers of civil government." The Provincial Congress at Watertown had occasion, on May 18, 1775, to say that they "were determined to preserve their dignity and power over the military" — their own military.

It was a sublime triumph of the traditions, principles and spirit which had trained the people of Massachusetts, that, at a temporary and alarming crisis, when the powers of magistrates and the functions of judges were suspended, there should have been the least need of them in outbursts of local disorder, or even in controversies of man with man. The alternative of a popular government, instituted and ratified by forms familiar from the long past, and sure of the approval and obedience of those whose

free-will created and sanctioned them, was at once availed of. Cautiously, but firmly, and with daily advances over a course which opened for its own successive stages, this and the other provinces engaged in the needful work of being their own legislators. Advice, recommendations, requests, urgent appeals, steadily led on to the bold ventures of requisition, till popular assent and approval, enforced by the stern necessities of the case, warranted the assumption and exercise of a coercive power. The Continental Congress, still addressing and petitioning the king of Great Britain, as still the sovereign of this part of his realm, were hesitating, undecisive, temporizing, about giving the explicit instructions which the provinces had asked for the establishment of government. But still, according to the saying which repeats the homeliest, as well as the profoundest wisdom, "one thing came after another," and in due time the instructions came, with an indorsement.

No undue encomiums, though they have been warm and lavish, especially from the other side of the ocean, have been passed upon what we may call the State papers of this and the other provinces and of the Continental Congress of those troubled years. There is a tone and character common to them all. In them civilians guided and directed in due subordination the swords of officers and soldiers. Beginning with writings from the Selectmen of Boston and the papers covering the altercations of Representatives of Massachusetts with the three Governors, Bernard, Hutchinson and Gage, then proceeding with those of the Committee of Correspondence, of the Council of War, of the Committee of Safety, the resolu-

tions of Town-Meetings, the instructions to delegates, the documents of the Provincial Congresses, and ending with the formal papers of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, we cannot but marvel to-day over the moderation, the discretion, the acumen, the aptness and cogency of their tone, method and contents. They have the exactness, pith and directness most desirable and effective in the best class of legal and official documents, without verbiage, complication or mere ingenuity in word fence. Whether these papers are merely appointments or recommendations of occasions for days of Fasting and Thanksgiving according to the revered New England usage, for a single province, or for the continent, or relate to provisions for a paper currency, or concern matters in which a local might conflict with a general direction of common interests, we note the same admirable qualities in them. The most formal of the manifestoes and declarations designed to be read abroad, were written with such power and pertinency as to be efficient pleaders of our cause. The following are the words of the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords : —

" When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must avow, that in all my readings, — and I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master States of the world, — for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia."

In one class of those State papers, such as addresses and petitions to the king, and those declaratory of principles and purposes, preceding that of Independence, the reader of our day is struck by a certain adroit, subtle, acute skill, sometimes almost suggestive of art or disingenuousness, in plea, remonstrance, avowal or profession. It was the cue, so to speak, of their writers, to distinguish broadly between the mind, intent and inclination of the King on his throne and in his privacy, and the purposes and measures of his Parliament and Cabinet. Notorious is it now that the stiff and unyielding obstinacy of the King, his almost insane perversity and persistency against the advice of his ministers, and even their desire to lay down their office, goaded on the strife from stage to stage; while Lord North was a tool, and hardly an agent. Of course our fathers did not know, or perhaps even imagine, the facts in the case.

But we can hardly conceive they were, at the same time, so stolid, and yet so ingenious, as this class of their papers would make them appear. Their avowals of love, and loyalty and devoted allegiance to his Majesty, and of their desire to comply in all things with what were, or — as they understood it — what ought to be his reasonable expectations from his subjects here, were most profuse and ardent, sometimes excessive and hardly masculine. But they fairly offset this mode and tone of addressing him by the most defiant, objurgatory and denunciatory way of dealing with his advisers. They wrote to and of the ministry and parliament with an admirable effrontery, as if they were really thwarting his Majesty's kind intentions and purposes. So, while the patriot forces were

cooping up the king's troops in Boston, and plundering his store-ships, the Congress at Philadelphia was inscribing to him addresses and petitions of such a temper and profession, that one might almost infer that they would have welcomed him to cross the sea and take a seat in their assembly, or accept from them a commission to head their army in driving off his own soldiers. They had motive, if not reason, for thus professing love for their monarch, while denouncing his ministers. So his troops here were spoken of as "the vile and contemptible agents of a vengeful and wicked ministry"; or, as Washington phrased it, "a diabolical ministry."

This was the sting of the letters addressed by him to Generals Gage and Howe, on the treatment and exchange of prisoners, and which they so sharply resented. It was a keen mortification and provocation to British officers and soldiers to be uniformly spoken of and dealt with as this policy of the so-called rebels dictated. Gage called it, on the part of Washington, an "insinuation;" and Howe replied to it as an "invective against his superiors, so insulting to himself as to obstruct any further intercourse."

A similar character is noticeable in these State papers in their professions of loyalty and willingness to recognize the royal, and even the parliamentary and ministerial authority within certain limits — very cloudily defined, however. But every way and form in which it was proposed that that authority should be exercised was pronounced a grievance. It is impossible for us to trace, distinctly, any practicable theory by which the patriots would adjust their relations to their mother-country, so that they might still be subjects, as they said they were willing to be, and

yet not be in subjection, as they resolved they would not be. The controversy was constantly shifting its grounds, and changing shape, color and substance. It seemed to some in England as if we were tricking and trifling with them. On the first arrival of the troops, one of the votes passed at a Boston town-meeting, Sept. 13, 1768, was, "As there is at this time a prevailing apprehension of approaching war with France, every inhabitant is requested to provide himself with a well-fixed fire-lock, musket, accoutrements and ammunition." There was no more prospect of such a war with France, than of her then bombarding Boston with a fleet of iron-clad steam monitors. At first we protested against being taxed by Parliament, because not represented in it; the implication being that, if we were represented in it, we would assume our share in parliamentary levies and subsidies. Afterwards, when representation was offered us, we replied that it would be inconvenient to avail ourselves of it.

The simple truth is, our civilians, as petitioners, remonstrants and pleaders, did not reach to the tap-root of the controversy, till successful resistance by actual fighting laid it open to the light, viz., that distance, lapse of time, divergence of interests, and our own growth to self-management, made it preposterous altogether that America should be a fief of Great Britain. It was but a practice in casuistry for us to be complaining of grievances in the infraction of the royal charter. The supreme grievance was that our life, liberty and property were any way involved in a charter.

We must trace to the utterances of tongue and pen in those days, full as much as to weapons of war, the embit-

terment of feeling, jealousies and mutual antipathies between the people of Great Britain and her colonies, which, with a latent persistency in their transmission, and occasionally intensely aggravated in their manifestation, were yielding to time and reason, till they were revived in the complications of our civil war. Obliviousness of the people in her American colonies, and utter indifference towards them, as a decayed or barbarized branch of the old ancestral stock, were the prevailing feelings of Englishmen as the storm was gathering. An astounding amazement that these people should have a word to say for themselves as being still, and still claiming the rights of, Englishmen, came with the first threat of resistance. This feeling passed successively through the phases of hauteur, scorn, contempt, passionate hate and vengeful malice. True, we had ardent friends among various classes of the British people, and bold and eloquent champions of some portion of our whole cause in Parliament. But even the most discerning and forecasting of this party in opposition, while two or three among them dared to forebode that our complete severance and independence might ensue on our resistance to tyranny, did not venture to define a consistent policy towards us which would practically reconcile us to any method of foreign rule. The qualities which Englishmen then, and ever since, have most disliked in us are conceit, boastfulness, self-sufficiency and self-complacency, — the very traits which, by blood and lineage, we derive from our English ancestry, and which, though somewhat mellowed by a livelier humor and good nature, are none the less exhibited almost as offensively by the progeny as by the parent stock.

Such was the work which the civilians of province and continent were doing discreetly and with fidelity, as they cautiously felt their way on to the construction of a nation, during those eleven months through which old Boston was a British garrison, and a patriot host environed it, first to confine, then to annoy it, and finally to drive it away.

THE PATRIOT CAMP AND ARMY.

We cannot call those swarms and groups of countrymen an army, even until a long time after Washington took command, on July 3d. The province had mustered, enrolled and officered her own militia and volunteers, and the other New England provinces had sent forces similarly organized — loosely — yet, as it proved, they met the emergency. They were enlisted for very short terms: knew little of subordination or discipline: were apt to come and go at their own wills: clung to their own local associations: and preferred to allot titles and rank as colonels, majors, captains, and so on, to the men whom they had known on their village commons, at town-meetings, and in the taverns on muster days. Some of these officers and men had seen service in the French and Indian wars. Gen. Ward was their commander. After a fashion, they held the environs of Boston, through a circuit of hill, valley and marsh, of nearly twenty miles, including guards at outposts, with military works, of their own fashion, too, on some prominent and some exposed points. They had nothing to be called ordnance, but few muskets, and those very poor ones, fewer bayonets, and scarce a scattering of powder. Yet they did not part with

a single square foot of the soil on which they had planted themselves. Though almost incessantly cannonaded from the British works on both peninsulas and from the gunboats, not a score of them were killed during the whole siege. The scene, as slightly sketched by a few persons who had an eye for nature as well as for humanity, was suggestive and impressive, if not beautiful. In the glorious summer months of foliage and herbage over that splendid panorama, the excited groups wrought busily by day, and kept watch by night, turning the hill-tops into citadels, and tramping the tilled fields, the sustenance of their households and cattle. An encampment of about fifty friendly Stockbridge Indians nestled in a grove on the present site of the Watertown Arsenal. The riflemen from Virginia and Maryland lurked venturesomely in the nearest hiding-places, and were a serious annoyance to the enemy in picking off any who were exposed as marks. The remnant of the native forest was cut away in the severities of the following winter, and it was long before nature recovered her sway over the scene. Two grand and fruitful studies in the portraiture of character and the development of a mighty task would offer themselves in the attempt to delineate the camp of the patriots. One would be the self-training of the august commander; the other would be the formation and organization of an army disciplined and made effective from crude, extemporized, fluctuating, and even resisting materials: and this, too, under perplexities and disabilities such as were never before encountered by a General in ancient or modern warfare.

THE PATRIOT COMMANDER.

When Washington, in the glory of his manhood, at the age of forty-three, shaped and moulded in form, feature and mien after nature's finest modelling, sat mounted under the shade of the elm-tree on Cambridge Common, we might have seen in him the frontispiece and title-page of a new volume of the world's biography and history. He had had military experience in the wilderness, converse with men, and practice in the administration of local magistracy. But the Commander-in-Chief was made and trained here. And while he was learning here the art of war, the method of self-mastery in which his pupilage began, trained him to such a knowledge of the arts of peace as to fit him to be the master-ruler of the country which he had created. Congress had commissioned him as commander without providing him with an army, and the army which they imagined as in existence they did not furnish with weapons, sustenance or pay. And for any powers of authority, range of sway, or defined plans, either in civil or military affairs, Congress, to which the commander was responsible as a servant, was as shadowy and imaginary a body as was the army of which he was the head. But he surveyed the work before him, and summoned his advisers and helpers. One is tempted to say, — indeed, he wrote it himself, — that he would not have assumed the responsibilities committed to him had he foreseen the conditions, discomfitures and perplexities which were to thicken upon him. The nobler then was the constancy which met, without quailing, all these thronging spectres as they came out of shadow into

reality. Enough that what he had to encounter of them day by day yielded to the resources in himself and in Providence. It was never a distrust or regret about the cause that came even in his most depressed hour, but a preference for the command of a regiment to that of the army.

He rode the circuit of the lines, detecting successively the weak points, and strengthening and multiplying the defences, till he had filled every gap in them. The outbursts of a resolved and defiant spirit in popular harangues and in the writings of ardent patriots, had naturally led him to expect that he should here find among the rustic groups some of the primary, essential qualities of soldiers in a camp; and also, in the provincial constituency of these soldiers, a readiness to respond to his call for needful measures and supplies. Sadly and oppressively was his noble spirit tried by strange deficiencies and contrary tokens in these matters. And herein lay the grandeur of his magnanimity and of his equanimity. Instead of yielding to dismay and so losing the mastery over himself, he boldly faced the facts with which he had to deal, traced them to natural and, so far, to necessary, occasions, temporized with them patiently, slowly mingled in with them qualifying and restraining agencies, and then saw them yield to his calm and steadfast purpose. He found the men, in what could hardly be called the ranks, enlisted but for days or weeks; their companies were fragments, and their regiments were skeletons; their officers were their village or county notables, commissioned by local partialities, and on terms of rude and disorderly familiarity with their men. All of them were on

provincial establishments, crude, raw and temporary. Dissension and jealousy were incident to enforced subordination, and an adjustment of rank and the restraints of discipline. Most of these extemporized soldiers felt at liberty to come and go at their pleasure, taking for granted that more, just like them, could come in their room. They had left houses, fields, mills, workshops, and families, without guardians or laborers. Who was to care for those at home, aye, or provide the food by-and-by for the wastefulness of camps? So, whether loiterers or enlisted, the mass of those whom Washington first saw as constituting his command were inconstant and unsteady, and to some extent intractable. Yet the very vagrancy and fluctuation of these provincial forces led the enemy in Boston to overestimate their numbers and the effectiveness of the service they could perform. This misleading fancy was in fact the reason why the patriot camp was not vigorously assailed when it was really the most exposed and weak. Yet an enormous amount of hard work with hand and spade had been done on the intrenchments, though engineers were wholly lacking, and tools were few and poor.

When Washington instituted an inquiry, the result reported to him was, that he had 14,500 men fit for some sort of military service. But of such as could be relied on as soldiers he never had that number during the whole siege, and there were critical intervals in the expiration of enlistments, and the dilatory substitution of new recruits, when he had not even 4,000. On an extreme emergency he would rely for a few days on the militia. This was the situation of the commander in full view of a vigilant

enemy, whose force was estimated at 11,500, thoroughly officered, equipped, disciplined and supplied, and with an auxiliary fleet in the bay and rivers.

The lack of powder in the patriot camp was a matter of such anxiety to Washington, that even his efforts to obtain it, by any shift and from any quarter, were most jealously disguised, that the enemy might not come to a full knowledge of the fact. Yet it would seem as if this deficiency must have been well known in Boston through deserters or tories. The Massachusetts Assembly, too, by a resolve of Aug. 17, 1775, had "recommended to the inhabitants of this colony not to fire a gun at beast, bird or mark, without real necessity therefor." Precautions had been taken to have the live stock of the neighboring towns driven back into the country, and a rendezvous had been designated for the provincials in the event of their lines being broken. For Washington had resolved to hold his ground and to strengthen his works, making as close an approach to the enemy as the natural features of the environs would permit. As soon as his eye had mastered the panorama, his thought and purpose rested upon those unoccupied southern heights on which his decisive batteries were at last planted. His all-engrossing work was to effect the paramount object of bringing the provincial forces under a continental, or general establishment, with corresponding commissions for officers.

During the first half of the siege of Boston, Washington was in dread suspense and apprehension of an assault from the enemy, while he was so utterly unprepared to meet it. Through the last half of the siege he chafed, with somewhat better preparation, under the impatience of

a constrained inactivity, because the enemy did not come out against him, and his own officers would not counsel a venture against them — which he twice proposed, once by boats, and once upon the ice. He was cheered in October by a visit and conference with a committee from the Continental Congress, with the sagacious Franklin at the head of it, to whom the town of his birth must have presented itself from outside in a strange plight. The letters of the commander prove that his firmness never came so near faltering as when he was forced to realize, as autumn approached, that he might have to pass the winter and wait for the spring just where and as he was. The enemy would not bring the issue to a decision, and it was not wise for him to force one. With most anxious care he at once took measures for covering and warming the soldiers through the severities and the dismal shadows of a New England winter on those bleak hills. Midway in that winter the enlistments of a large portion of his men would expire; and some of them, in their straits or uneasiness, were for anticipating their release. He was able, however, to send forth a detachment for an enterprise in Canada. Transports with armed vessels were occasionally seen going out of the harbor, and Washington was in painful perplexity as to their destination. Thus he writes to Congress at the opening of the year 1776: "It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without [powder], and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than

ever was attempted." These are the words of a calm reserve, in utterance, which were to be read before many listeners. But they hide the secret distress which burdened his spirit. This he occasionally discloses confidentially to his nearest friend and secretary, Joseph Reed, thus: "I have many an unhappy hour when all around me are wrapped in sleep." All the while the country, conscious of having serious ends in view, and of having made effort and sacrifice, was daily expecting some great movement to be ventured, and complaints reached Washington of his supposed inactivity and indecision. He dared not silence these complaints by revealing what was fully known only to himself of his alarming exposure, deficiencies and weakness. He wrote to Reed that the same means used to conceal his real situation from the enemy concealed it also from his friends, and that he had been obliged to avail himself of art to hide it from his own officers. He was cheered, near the close of the year 1775, by the arrival, Dec. 11, of Mrs. Washington, with her son, Mr. Custis and wife, whose society afforded him moments of solace. In the middle of January, in a council of officers, attended, at Washington's request, by John Adams, the General very earnestly urged the importance of an attack on the enemy before the arrival of reinforcements; but the council, agreeing in the desirability of the movement, pronounced our resources to be wholly inadequate. On the twenty-fourth of the month, Washington wrote to Congress, "No man upon earth wishes more ardently to destroy the nest in Boston than I do. No person would be willing to go greater lengths than I shall to accomplish it, if it shall be thought advisable; but if we

have neither powder to bombard with, nor ice to pass on, we shall be in no better situation than we have been in all the year; we shall be worse, because their works are stronger."

These are but snatches and fragments out of the rehearsal of those incidents, and that period which marked the investment of Boston. The signal quality of the time and scene was, that it was the school of training and discipline for the patriot army, and emphatically so for its commander. He had to defer to, and take advice from, a body which had no authority to require or exact the conditions needful to meet the wants of their General. Practically, there was committed to him, individually, during the year preceding the Declaration of Independence, the enormous task of bringing the loose material of the provincial forces daily fluctuating before him, on a continental establishment, and of holding them subject to terms required by an authority which any one of them might challenge as merely assumed. It was for him to devise and to dispose all the arrangements and details necessary to effect that purpose. It was for him to abate and reconcile the partialities and jealousies of officers and men; to exact rigid subordination; to enforce a stiff military routine and observance in the camp with all punctilios and formalities, and a stern prohibition of the familiarity and levity that had marked the relations between those who were to give and those who were to obey orders. It was for him to exercise a lynx-eyed watchfulness against surprises, treacheries and disasters; to be constantly planning and accomplishing new defences and safer means for annoying the enemy. His advanced works were now

so close to those of the British, that the belligerents were within musket-shot of each other. The naked eye or spy-glass could take note of the movements in either camp or garrison. For a long time the provincials had had to bear a frequent cannonading from the enemy, without being able to return it, harmless as it was. The new year had brought some supplies, which, with their advanced works, allowed the provincials to retaliate.

The great lesson which Washington had to teach to each individual, officer or private, in his command, was to learn to abate his own personal independence, that he might secure the independence of his country. There, too, he learned how to deal with men, with friends as well as with enemies — with human nature, in all its workings of impulse and motive, its nobleness and meanness. And, as his order-book gives abundant and impressive evidence, he was thoughtful of those strengthening or enfeebling agencies which act upon health and virtue. He counselled cleanliness, high and pure morality, and the devoutness and reverence of religion in sentiment and observance. As the crisis of the situation was near, while forbidding cards in the camp, he advised a serious preparation of mind as a security against cowardice.

One appreciative word, at least, is due to the letters which Washington wrote at this time to Congress, while meeting all the stern and dismal conditions of the service to which they had called him, and in which their power and their resources could do so little either to direct or to aid him. It is a small thing to say of those letters that they are remarkable productions for one untrained by literary culture. They are often strikingly felicitous in the choice

of words, and in the form of expression. But beyond this, their tone and purport, their directness, simplicity and dignity of sentiment, express the self-respect of the writer, and a marvellously just apprehension of the relation in which he stood to the body which he addressed. He, at least, owed allegiance to Congress, if no one beside him did in the whole country. The agitations and excitements which vexed his own spirit never passed into those letters. They are passionless, free from murmurs, complaints, censoriousness and sharp invectives. Yet they never sacrifice force to tameness. They deal with facts; are concise; with no cloudiness or mystification of meaning; with no insinuations or implications beyond the assertion. He could be urgent with Congress without being impatient. He could make suggestions with deference. When, on rare occasions, he offered advice, or even remonstrance, he did not disguise the intent in the form of it, but wrote it for what it was, frankly, boldly; always making allowance for delays and indecisions incident to the composition and limited power of Congress, — as yet only an advisory body, neither homogeneous nor harmonious, but feeling its way in an unexplored course.

And so his letters to individuals, official or private, when giving instructions or information, were direct, clear, positive, cautious — as the occasion required. When he had to mediate between sensitive parties, or to complain, or to rebuke, his moderation held in check all vehemence or temper, and his own dignity was suggestive of the grace of it to others. His most approved form of censure was that which made an offender apportion his own sentence. All the while burdened with work for his pen,

frequently lacking a confidential secretary, he was writing almost daily letters of instruction and detail to the manager of his land-estates. A reference to these homely letters of thrift and husbandry would not be in place here, except as they reveal a winning trait in his character. His emphatic direction is, that the hospitalities of his home, and especially its free dispensings of benevolence and money to the needy, shall in no wise fail or slacken. One other engrossing anxiety was crowded into the burdens of the worn and worried chief in this early stage of a struggle, which was to decide whether the halter or the wreath would be the emblem of his fate. While watching the beleaguered foe in Boston, he had to keep in thought a whole continent, with its coasts, and towns and people, and to prepare to meet the enemy where he might strike next. No graver's work on a map was ever more sharply cut than that which was wrought in his mind.

THE INVESTED TOWN, SOLDIERS AND INHABITANTS.

While civilians in local and continental councils, and soldiers in the wide-stretched camp so anxiously watched over by Washington, were thus taking care for the patriot cause, the invested town of Boston, alike to those outside of it as to those within it, was the object of painful and absorbing interest. From the General down to the humblest menial in his train, there was not a man that did not sooner or later realize that he had come on a foolish and bootless errand. The exposure of their situation, and the constant apprehension of an assault, required unceasing watchfulness, and the construction almost week by week of some new defences. Their sufferings from

the prevalence of foul diseases, the number of the sick and wounded among them, and the scarcity of fresh provisions, vegetables and fuel, became, at one crisis, very serious and alarming. Ghastly efforts were made by the officers during the winter to amuse themselves with dances, theatricals, and a masquerade. The old South Church, given up to a riding-school, afforded shows of horsemanship, as seen by festive spectators from its eastern gallery. Burgoyne got up a play to be acted in Faneuil Hall, which was, however, rudely arrested in its performance by the rattling of shot from the nearest provincial battery. The remnant of patriotic inhabitants in the town were grievously distressed. Some sought in vain the privilege of leaving it. Others, who resolved to stay and wait the catastrophe, were strictly watched, lest they should communicate with the besiegers. The tory element too, natives and refugees from the country, showed the excitements of an intense bitterness and of a craven trepidation. The General summoned them to organize into an association, as a town-guard, armed and receiving rations. They became a serious burden to him, as, knowing well what treatment they would receive from their outraged countrymen, they demanded special privileges during the siege, and the first thought and favor of the commander at the Evacuation. Gage was called home in October, embarking on the tenth, having received flattering addresses from the tories on his departure. He reported himself in London, Nov. 11. Burgoyne followed him in December. Howe was left in command. Before Gage went away he had allowed more of the inhabitants to leave the town, though under severer restrictions. In

November and December nearly five hundred men, women and children, in a most pitiable condition, were put ashore at Chelsea and Point Shirley, and the provincials thought the design was to spread the small-pox among them.

But all the other annoyances and inflictions borne by the besieged were endurable by proud and self-respecting British soldiers, in comparison with the humiliation and mortification of their position. Those whom they had sneered at and insulted as a rabble of unarmed countrymen and cowards whom the smell of the red-coats' powder would tame into loyalty, were cooping them up on two small peninsulas, defying their vengeance, taunting their conceit, and, with scant charges of powder, returning them their own balls. General Gage, assuming that the few disabled men that had been seized in the battle at Charlestown were in no sense prisoners of war, but felons "destined to the cord," put them into jail in Boston, with some of the citizens whom he suspected, and gave them jail diet. With dignified remonstrance Washington wrote to him, as he did afterwards to Howe, that we had some of their friends, as yet forbearingly dealt with, on whom retaliation could and would be visited.

With a purpose of making a raid into the country, Gage had written for heavy reinforcements, with ordnance, wagons, horses and supplies. These were so delayed, so niggardly furnished, and so insufficient, that officers and men began to complain that the ministry had forgotten them, had brought them into peril and disgrace, and then abandoned them. Yet, as these supplies, from time to time, sailed in between our capes, our adroit skippers and 'longshoremen, intrepid and watchful, extem-

porizing their schooners and whale-boats into private vessels of war till they provided themselves with better ones, as prizes, began the business which afterwards proved vastly rewarding. They turned over a large proportion of the burden of the transports, ordnance, arms, powder, and all sorts of valuables, to the provincials, who needed them quite as much as did the British. The Provincial and Continental Congresses had both authorized the necessary measures for naval warfare with vessels of marque and reprisal. The pine-tree flag and a code of signals were at once adopted. At the end of November, the stanch Commodore Manly took into Cape Ann the British ordnance brig "Nancy," so rich in her cargo for us and so grudged by the enemy, that Washington, apprehending that a sturdy effort might be made to reclaim her, sent down four companies to protect her stores. Among these were 2,000 muskets — our General had just that number of men without any — 100,000 flints, 30,000 round-shot, more than thirty tons of musket-shot, eleven mortar-beds, and a brass mortar weighing nearly 3,000 pounds, to which "Old Put," helped by a bottle of rum, gave the name "Congress." A bold movement of Gen. Thomas, in Roxbury, had narrowed the enemy's lines on the Neck.

It is marvellous to realize how comfortably and even lavishly the slender resources of our own province for clothing, equipping, and feeding fighting men were reinforced from English and Irish armories, magazines, flocks, coal-pits, and wine and beer vaults. And all this while British officers were writing home bitter complaints of their starved rations and mean food. From correspond-

ence and documents which have come to light in recent years we learn of the councils, advices, instructions, and half-formed plans, looking to the voluntary withdrawal by the British General from his inhospitable quarters. But the difficulty was about the going away, the getting out, and the getting off. He could not divide his force, and he had not sufficient shipping in which to remove men and property. When this was finally accomplished, as we shall see, it was by the allowance of the provincials, and on the score of a consideration.

When all these humiliations of the besieged army became known in England, chagrin and ridicule divided about equally the tone of the comments. Howe's letters to Lord Dartmouth in November and December betray real alarm. He would leave Boston if he had tonnage enough. The questions, criticisms and censures uttered in Parliament were bitter and taunting from the opposition, obstinate and defiant from the ministry. On November 1, Burke said of the army, the rebels "coop it up, besiege it, destroy it, crush it. Your officers are swept off by their rifles, if they show their noses." Col. Barre said, "They burn even the light-house under the nose of the fleet, and carry off the men sent to repair it." With the barb of his keenest irony, Horace Walpole wrote to his clerical correspondent, August 7, 1775, "Mrs. Britannia orders her senate to proclaim America a continent of cowards, and vote it should be starved unless it would drink tea with her. She sends her only army to be besieged in one of her towns, and half her fleet to besiege the *terra firma;* but orders her army to do nothing, in hopes that the American Senate in Philadelphia will be so frightened at the British

army being besieged in Boston, that it will sue for peace." He wrote to Conway, "We have thrown a pebble at a mastiff, and are surprised it was not frightened." The ministers resolved to send enormous reinforcements and supplies, and at such mighty cost that the people of Britain have not yet finished paying for them. There were 5,000 oxen, 14,000 sheep, etc., with hay and vinegar, oats, beans, flour, beer, coal, and even fagots. Extortionate freights, delays and disasters impeded the transportation, and the ocean tracks showed many of the dead animals floating. However, our privateers had a fair share in the spoil.

Towards the end of the siege a flag, with drum and trumpet, went every Tuesday to the Roxbury lines, to afford opportunities for such intercourse, conversation with friends, or the exchange of letters, or for the entrance or exit of individuals, as was allowed on special favor, or for a money consideration. In old family cabinets and antiquarian repositories there are extant, in rich abundance and variety, some time-stained papers, relating all sorts of private and public incidents which transpired in Boston during those dreadful months. Most of the letters that passed by the flag are, of course, written as from the depths of wretchedness, and reproduce their agonies in the reader of them. Some of the papers, however, have a strange levity and jollity. We have a few diaries and scraps from the pens of resolute or timid patriots, men and women, who, by compulsion or free-will, stayed by the dear old home, through all its woes. The letters that got out of it by stealth or allowance unite the sundered heart-strings of the members of separated families, or report the

state of remnants of wasting property. We read the household endearments in pet epithets and the breathings of piety; the announcement that this one has died, and the question if that one is alive; the homely report of the state of the wardrobe of man, woman or child; lamentations over the empty pantry, the cold hearths, or the cost of the poorest food. There is a constrained reticence about certain matters in these letters, which is itself richly suggestive. But there is the sternest reality in them all, of consuming anxiety, the dreary detail of sleeplessness, grief, unsolaced love, apprehensions and alarms of all possible miseries not yet actual, and summaries of the work of poverty, pestilence, and military rule. One of the inhabitants, holding large property, for the protection of which he had remained in town, in writing to a friend in Philadelphia about the scarcity of food and fuel, grimly adds, that it is almost impossible for the bereaved to procure boards for the "underground tenements of their departed friends."

The British commander, besides using one of the meeting-houses for a riding-school, one for a stable, and two for the storage of provender, and removing the steeple of another on the charge that it had been used for signalling, had ordered the destruction of the Old North Meeting-house — a solid timber structure, hardened by a century — and of a hundred wooden dwellings, for fuel. The soldiers had made away with the sills of wharves, with fences, orchards and trees, including, as a special spite, the Liberty Tree. The officers had taken possession of the best private houses of the town, and their consideration as gentlemen preserved such buildings and their

contents from violence and pillage. On the approach of winter many of the troops had been sheltered in deserted dwellings and warehouses, which had been emptied of the effects belonging to absent citizens. The furniture and goods were mostly lost to the owners. The Common was burrowed over with pits by the soldiers, while small-pox, dysentery, scurvy, and other ailments induced a large mortality among them. The dead were buried in trenches at the foot of the Common, which thus gave a new place to the town for interments. Letters from officers and soldiers, written to friends in England, are equally suggestive in the communications made by them during the discomforts of their inglorious garrison life.

It is fairly supposable, under conditions that may be readily defined, that the siege of Boston might have been conducted to a result securing the capitulation of the whole British force of men and ships. They might have been cut off from supplies through the only channel open to them, if the harbor could have been closed by a few sunken obstructions, and batteries well served could have been planted on opposite points and headlands. Plans, indeed, were proposed for seizing and destroying the Castle, and securing that result. Mr. Quincy, of Braintree, and others pressed upon Washington their schemes for effecting it. The provincials had done many daring feats on the islands and harbor promontories, which they had stripped and desolated under the guns of the war-vessels. They would have done their part in shutting up the harbor; but Washington had not the heavy ordnance and powder which the enterprise demanded, nor could he weaken his force and batteries on the main. Feasible as

the undertaking seemed, the means and resources were lacking. Nor would the capitulation of that British army, shut in and starved, astounding as the report of it would have been, have had a decisive influence on the struggle. When, more than a year and a half afterwards, Burgoyne surrendered an army originally nearly as large as that in Boston, and our foreign alliances were by that event secured, Britain resolved to try still once more.

Yet during the latter part of the siege, while Congress was still temporizing, it seems to have been thought that the whole struggle, so far as open warfare was concerned, might be concentrated and terminated here. The ordnance brought by Knox, with such immense toil, over frozen lakes and through forests, from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with shells from the king's stores in New York, and other spoils from the prizes, had given actual strength and inspiration of high courage and hopefulness to the provincials. They felt sure that they had the enemy where they could keep him, unless he chose to float away.

The British General wrote to Lord Dartmouth that Boston was "the most disadvantageous place for all operations;" and Washington wrote to Congress that "the siege was as close a one as any on earth can be." That was another of the few points in which both parties were in accord. Admiral Schuldam came into the harbor on New Year's day to take the place of Graves, there having been altercations between the latter and the General, arising from complaints, at the lack of support and supplies, which the army had raised against the fleet. Schuldam brought with him copies of the king's "gra-

cious speech," full of obstinate resolution. A mass of these precious documents were sent out to be dispersed through the patriot army, where they were received with contempt and ridicule. Washington wrote to Joseph Reed that before the papers came he "had hoisted the Union flag, in compliment to the United Colonies," and its appearance was rashly interpreted in Boston as a token of submission and delight at the aforesaid "gracious speech." The flag, as you see it among the decorations of this hall, showed, without as yet any spangling of stars, thirteen stripes of red on a white field, with the united red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground in the corner.

The long-drawn issue between the besiegers and the besieged was to have its close in a compromise, as concerned the belligerents, yet in a triumph, the joy and satisfaction of which human language would be weak to express, for the families of Boston. It has often been regarded as among the fatuities which characterized so much of the conduct of the war here by the British ministry and army, — alike in its efforts and in its oversights, — that its commanders had not learned to improve, on the heights on the south side of Boston, the lesson taught them by those on the north side. Why had they not possessed themselves of the elevations nearest them in Dorchester? But the query admits of two answers, as the reasons for action or neglect were balanced. The British seem to have given over an attempt to rush out into the country in any direction, as, if they got out, it would only be to hold one hill against a hundred others.

THE HEIGHTS OF DORCHESTER.

A week after Washington took command, a Council of War had decided not to attempt to get possession of these heights, nor to oppose the enemy if they should occupy them. But the commander had from the first kept his eye and thought upon them as entering largely into the decision of the result. He had resolved, too, that a resolute effort should be made in one direction or another to drive off the enemy before the expected reinforcements, known to be on the ocean, should arrive. His measures may or may not have been quickened by rumors of the design of a movement on the part of the enemy.

It is to be remembered that, though all through the siege the combatants were supposed to obtain a general, and even minute, knowledge of each other's condition, situation and plans, through such adventurous persons as could evade the guards, or such as were allowed to leave or enter the town, all such information was to be received with large allowances for exaggeration or deception. On February 13 about 500 men under Colonel Leslie, with grenadiers and light infantry under Colonel Musgrave, had crossed to Dorchester Neck, destroyed some scattered buildings there, and taken prisoners the guard of six, getting away before they could be interfered with. There were three elevations in that part of Dorchester now known as South Boston which were involved in the plans of Washington. The old works upon them, renewed in the war of 1812, have disappeared, and the original features of the site have been almost wholly

obliterated by the hand of improvement. Crossing from Roxbury on the edge of the tide-water marshes by Dorchester Neck, two summits, near the present reservoir and the Blind Asylum, offered sites which commanded a part of Boston and of the harbor. Below these, and closer to the water, nearest to Boston at Roxbury Neck, was another elevation, then called Nook's Hill, the site, at present, of the Lawrence School-house. The plans and preparations of Washington for possessing these heights were so deliberate and thorough, so carefully studied in the minutest detail, so conditioned upon alternative and co-operating movements of his own, and upon the action of the enemy, as to prove with what patient and brooding study he had wrought them out. There was in them no instigation of a surprise, no occasions of hurry and afterthought, no lack of any provision needful for success. Cheerfully, heartily, and without any withholding of needful aid, were his plans and their details advanced by all on whom he relied. Many elemental influences which were baffling to the enemy favored him. His chief difficulty lay in the fact that the ground on the heights was frozen to the depth of eighteen inches, and the next was the exposure of Dorchester Neck, over which his men and means must pass. The utmost diligence had been previously used by Colonel Mifflin and others to provide these means — three or four hundred ox-teams and carts, large quantities of fascines, chandeliers, bundles of screwed hay to protect the Neck and to aid in the construction of the defences, with barrels fastened together and filled with stones, sand and gravel, for rolling down from the declivities to break the ranks of

the assailants. On the evening of Monday, March 4, a covering and a working party, making 2,000 men, under General Thomas, started on the enterprise, as quietly as possible, the direction of the wind also favoring the secrecy of their motions. It was also a part of the plan to engage the attention of the enemy by a vigorous cannonade on the other side of Boston. By ten o'clock at night the men had raised a fort, proof against small arms and grape-shot, on each of the two farthest elevations, menacing respectively the town, and the Castle and vessels.

It was a mild, clear night for the season; warm work neutralized the chill air. A full moon overhead was accompanied by a haze settling over the town and lowlands, and veiling the enterprise from the sentries of the enemy. A relief party came on at three o'clock in the morning, of Tuesday. Not till some time after daybreak were the works disclosed to the British, and when Gen. Howe gazed at the spectacle, he is said to have declared, in his amazement, that the rebels had done more in a night than his whole army would have accomplished in months. He was at once warned by the Admiral that the completion of the forts would require him to withdraw his vessels from the inner harbor. Of course the rebels must be dislodged, or he must evacuate the town. The day was the now historic fifth of March, and as it was expected that it would repeat some of the scenes acted on Bunker's Hill, the word passed from Washington as a rallying cry, bidding the provincials remember the day of the "bloody massacre." Peter Thatcher duly delivered the oration at Watertown. Every movement of the enemy was rigidly watched, and

the system of signalling arranged by Washington communicated information and directions through his whole lines. His arrangement was that if enough of the British left Boston to storm the new works, as would warrant the venture, 4,000 men would embark at the mouth of the Charles, in two divisions, under Sullivan and Greene, the whole commanded by Putnam. Sullivan's division was to have landed at the Powder-house, to take Beacon Hill, and Mt. Horam; while Greene's, landing near Barton's Point, should take that, and then joining the other division should force the enemy's line inside at the Neck, and let in a detachment from Roxbury. A strong fleet of floating batteries was to have preceded the other boats. Washington seems to have been disappointed that the thwarting course adopted by the enemy had not brought his scheme to the trial.

Gen. Howe, after a council of war, decided to make an immediate attempt to dislodge the provincials. The excitement and stir in the town were plainly visible to those who were so interested in watching every movement. The testimony of trustworthy observers then in the town, as afterwards given to their friends, was, that it was with sunken spirits, without alacrity or enthusiasm, and with the memory of the slaughter on the heights of Charlestown, that the red-coats, in force amounting to 2,400, under Lord Percy, marched to the wharves to take boats for embarking on the transports. The provincials eagerly awaited the movement, supposing the enemy would sweep up behind the heights and at once commence the assault. This, however, was not the design. The enemy dropped down to the Castle, intending to make the assault on

Wednesday, the 6th. The freshening of the wind drove three of the transports on shore on Governor's Island, and a violent tempest, with rain, beginning at night and continuing through the next day, frustrated the purpose. In the meanwhile the provincials, in spite of the storm, continued to strengthen their works, so as to assure the enemy of the hopelessness of attempting to carry them. The militia of the neighboring towns, called out for a few days to ensure the enterprise, performed all the needful incidental work. Howe, after another council of war, on the 6th, decided to evacuate the town; at the same time he received despatches approving of his own suggestion that he should remain till he was reinforced. Congress, in December, had given Washington authority to destroy Boston if the enemy could in no other way be dislodged. The President, Hancock, in transmitting this vote, gave his own approval, though he would be a chief sufferer in loss of property.

THE EVACUATION.

But the patriots were not compelled to desolate their own capital, neither did the enemy within it wish that its bombardment should include themselves. Washington would not harm the town if the enemy would leave it, but he did not mean that they should get out of it and then burn it behind them. He was still plying the enemy with vigorous blows, and his elaborate plans were so matured and threatening that the British forces would have suffered some extreme disaster, had not a compromise been availed of, which was acceptable to both parties, though deeply mortifying to the enemy. Through the aid of the selectmen of Boston in conference with British officers, an

implied covenant — though without signature or seal to ratify it — was effected at the Roxbury lines, by the tacit assent — unpledged, however, of Washington — that if the British could be allowed, unmolested, a reasonable time for packing and embarking, they would leave the town unharmed. The informal pledge was accepted, and substantially complied with. The provincials might reasonably have remonstrated and demanded remuneration for the enormous amount of plunder of every kind, furniture and goods taken from the houses and stores, which were broken into and pillaged by some of the troops and sailors and the meanest class of the tories. These outrages continued for a week, in spite of the proclamations of the General threatening instant death upon any one detected in plundering or firing a building. But on the last days of his stay he himself ordered all woollen and linen goods to be seized for the use of his army. The packing up was a hurried and critical operation, as, on the last day of the siege, Washington had succeeded in planting effective works on Nook's Hill, the nearest elevation to Boston, from which he could rake Boston Neck inside and distress the enemy and their shipping. It was at this moment that the British General was made to realize what an incumbrance and nuisance he had to dispose of in the tories, who now hung so despairingly on his hands. Almost demented with dismay and fright, they implored to be put into the vessels first, with all their household goods and property. Washington wrote to his brother Augustine, that some of these had confessed that, "if they thought the most abject submission would have procured them peace, they never would have stirred from the town.

By all accounts there never existed a more miserable set of beings than these wretched creatures are. They choose to commit themselves to the mercy of the waves, at a tempestuous season, rather than meet their offended countrymen."

But several of the shrewdest of these tories had, by money or favor, managed to secure a passage to England, or the West Indies, before the catastrophe came. Then there were large numbers of the sick and of women and children to be provided for. The king's property also, with all the accumulations of military supplies, camp equipage and stores, was, as far as possible, to be removed, or, at least, destroyed. The shipping was wholly insufficient, out of trim, without food and water, and the March gales were threatening. The wharves witnessed a hurried confusion, as boats with their human or other freight were passing to the vessels in the channel. Masses of valuables were destroyed, broken, burned, thrown overboard, while many unserviceable craft were scuttled. The Castle must be dismantled, but the harbor must be guarded to warn off the transports and reinforcements which were on their way to the town. Still the enemy were compelled to leave behind them ordnance, goods, and miscellaneous property, which were of great value, and which were put to excellent service by the provincials. Gen. Gage's chariot, tipped off of a wharf, was not especially of use. There was just enough of play from the provincial batteries to keep the enemy mindful of the value and speed of time. The streets were barricaded and the inhabitants were warned to keep quiet in their dwellings while critical operations were in

progress. It would seem that only a contrary wind kept the enemy from leaving on Saturday; at any rate, there was leisure enough for the perpetrating of more mischief and outrage. They chose the Puritan Saturday evening, the midnight and the early hours of Sunday, for their departure. Keen-set eyes were watching for the moment when the guard should be withdrawn from the gates at the Neck. At sunrise the enemy were afloat in their dismantled and encumbered vessels, and those which carried the tories were the first to reach and leave the outer harbor. As keen eyes as were any on the land were also watching from Yankee decks between the Capes, to pick up any stragglers. Officers, men and marines, in number nearly nine thousand; women; and eleven hundred tories and their families, found their crowded quarters in seventy-eight ships and transports. But would they really sail away, or linger to send back their Parthian vengeance from their guns, or desolate the shore towns? And if they sailed away, whither would they go? Only after ten days was Washington relieved of a part of his anxiety by the final departure of the fleet, leaving only a guard. To reduce the rest of his anxiety he had already despatched a force to New York. The harbor was not wholly opened till the provincials, by works constructed on the shores and headlands, drove away the last sentinel ship in June, just two years after the Port Bill had closed it. Then our little navy had a revel in its prize-takings.

BOSTON RECOVERED.

The old town was again in the hands of its citizens and protectors. This was a glorious day, a hundred years ago, but it had its deep shadows and its dark fears. There was no parade of pomp, or procession, or festivity, or light glee, nor much public show of joy, at its first repossession. Charlestown was a complete desolation of mournful chimney-stacks, while some Quaker sentries stood mockingly in its abandoned fortifications. There were foul infections left in Boston, which even the raw air of the spring could not drive away, and disease long continued its ravages here. Impediments and torture traps were set in the way of those who should first rush in. The town was serrated with military works. Many of its homes were emptied, defaced and polluted, and its warehouses had been rifled. There was a general aspect of devastation, though the hand of violence had not wrought so complete a wreck as had been feared. The remnant of its liberty-loving people showed, by their pinched and haggard countenances and their wasted frames, what they had been enduring from alarms and frights, from sleeplessness, from cold and hunger. Cowering here and there were individuals or groups, whose sympathies or service had been with the retiring foe, and who were either too poor and mean to be taken away with them, or who hoped to make their peace by some excuse or subserviency. These were soon taken in hand, a part for pity and slow forgiveness, while the worst of them changed places with the last tenants of the jail. The gates were unbarred at Roxbury Neck, by Col. Learned, on Sunday morning, and a body of

five hundred soldiers came in there, while Putnam brought over as many from Cambridge to the foot of the Common — care having been taken to select such as had had the small-pox. Washington, on the next day, came over for a brief visit, in a boat from Dorchester, with James Bowdoin, Jr., who took the chief to dine with him at his Grandfather Erving's. It is recorded that the greatest luxury which the town afforded for their banquet was "a piece of salted beef."

On the 19th, the day after this visit, Washington wrote to Hancock, at the Congress, informing him of the evacuation, and of the condition of his own house and furniture as little injured. It had been occupied by General Clinton. The chief received and returned the congratulations of the General Court, and issued, on the 21st, a proclamation providing for order, the protection of property, and a due regard for magistracy. A large body of troops came in on the 20th, who demolished the enemy's works which menaced inwards, and constructed strong works on Fort Hill and other seaward points, and in Charlestown, to overawe the still lingering foe. Washington attended the revived Thursday Lecture on the 28th, as a Thanksgiving, and left the camp for New York on April 5th.

Even the exiled inhabitants of Boston do not seem, as a body, to have made great haste to return to it. It was still a place of peril from a vengeful enemy, from disease, and from possible lawlessness. Many came to look upon the scene, and deferred for a season the reoccupation of their homes. The inevitable town-meeting was held on March 29th, for the election of officers and attention to the most pressing business. Slowly and cautiously were

the dwellings and warehouses restored to their wonted uses. The scenes described, of reunited families mingling the joy of meeting with the griefs of mourning over outraged homes and wrecked fortunes, deeply engage the sympathies of those who read the relations. Not till after the century closed were the signs of havoc, with the remnants of the military works, obliterated, and the scenes of full prosperity revived. And now, by a fair disposal, that portion of the surrounding territory which most firmly griped the besieged enemy and compelled him to depart is embraced in our municipality. New England was to be no more the scene of war, and in her participation in it thus far, less than two hundred of her soldiers had fallen on her soil.

In recognizing gratefully the gift of the medal from Congress, Washington generously turned the praise from himself to his army. He said, "They were indeed, at first, an army of undisciplined husbandmen; but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to duty that I am indebted for that success which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen."

Those of you who are seated nearest to this reading-desk may have noted that it bears to-day a decoration not familiar to the eyes of all of you, as it was to your fathers. When the Declaration of Independence was first publicly read in this town, on July 18th, with demonstrations of patriotism and joy, some of the people, not with the riot and violence of a mob, but in a somewhat orderly way, proceeded to remove all the outside tokens and symbols of kingly authority, crowns, carvings, signs and emblems, from public

places. This deeply and well-carved oaken tablet, bearing the royal arms, was attached to the Province House, as the official residence of his Majesty's Governor. Of course it then came down from its place of dignity, for it had then, like Cromwell's mace, become a bauble. But, happily, it was not destroyed. It has its welcome abiding-place in the cabinet of the Historical Society. Its gilding has yielded to time. I have not brought this royal armorial tablet here, and put it to this use to-day, with any intent to do it slight or dishonor, but as a valued relic, suggestive of days and relations long past. I do not forget, but rather tenderly remember, that the Queenly Lady who now bears that proud escutcheon, with her lamented Prince Consort, restrained her royal power from any other exercise than that of a noble and generous sympathy, during the distractions of our sad civil conflict. I saw the crown placed upon her head, on her coronation day in Westminster Abbey, and have loved ever since to trace her serene course of dignity and fidelity as wife, mother and queen of her magnificent empire. And if our story to-day has dealt harshly with one who filled the throne before her, let us not close it without the expression of our profoundest homage and respect to Queen Victoria, not our sovereign, — except that, as the highest lady in the world, she should be such to all men, — but as our ally and our friend.

Two suggestive thoughts burdened, the one with historic facts, the other, with a modern, and we trust, a perpetual interest, come to our minds after the rehearsal of the story of Boston's humiliation and restoration. First: it was right and fair in the ordering of the method and

action of our Revolutionary War, that the brunt of the struggle should have come first, most severely, protractedly, and decisively here. Boston had generated, provoked, invited the contest with the mother-country. She herself boasted in her town-meeting that she had been "stationed by Providence in the front rank of the conflict." Here were first uttered calm and passionless, but earnest and cogent protests, manly remonstrances, dignified petitions. As these were dallied with and failed, it was natural that they should have been followed, as they were first, here, with threats, defiances, insults and outrages. Truly was the town described, and not defamed, in Parliament, as "the hot-bed of disaffection." Truly did Gen. Gage write to Lord Dartmouth, "In this town the arch-rebels formed their scheme long ago." With all justice were the sharpest censures and invectives uttered in the House of Lords against that pestilent nuisance, a Boston Town-Meeting, whose unknown origin and authority, and perpetual vitality by adjournment, seemed to have given it a start at the creation of all things, and to make it independent even of a resurrection, because it never died. Those meetings originated the measures of concert and action for the province and continent. Here, too, was the largest group of clear-headed individuals conferring and working together as patriots, by method and progress, as popular speakers and writers, skilled in argument and pleading, reading old laws and learning how to put new and better ones on the statute-book. Here, too, were clubs of patriots and liberty-men, whose prejudices were so intense against tea-pots, that they ventured to run the greater risk of punch-bowls. It was wholly right and

fair, then, that Boston should have been the first victim of the vengeance it provoked.

The other suggestion comes in this form of question: Why is it that, when dire disaster, by flood or fire, pestilence or famine, is visited upon any spot, town or country, of this far-spread continent, the first appeal for sympathy and aid, as swiftly as the throbbing wires can bring it, is to Boston? And why is it that the more distant the scene, and the more strange even the name of the place of the disaster to us, the nearer and more familiar does Boston seem to the sufferers? The answer made by some will be, Because Boston is rich and thrifty, and its people have a repute for kindliness. Without disputing that, we must avow that there is a deeper reason, one that rests on debt and obligation. With all the drafts on our purses, we have but paid simple interest on a bonded claim. In the dismal and crushing fate visited upon trading and commercial Boston by the parliamentary act which hermetically closed our port to all entrance, exit and traffic, our House of Representatives resolved that this tyrannous blow, struck against this town, was aimed equally against the province, and the colonized continent. The province and continent took us at our word. They recognized the truth and acted upon it. In deliberating upon a letter received from Boston, the Congress, at Philadelphia, October 10, 1774, resolved unanimously, that if the people of Boston should find it necessary to leave it and seek the country, "all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain; and it will be recommended accordingly." "The Poor of Boston" was a phrase familiar over the continent, and it included,

for some articles of need, all the inhabitants. The letters of sympathy which came from the whole length and breadth of the country, from town and city, hamlet and solitary settlement, and the replies to them, fill two stout volumes. And the sympathy in these letters always took the form of invoices, inventories and manifests of all substantial gifts, food, commodities, money. Even these had to reach the town by tedious land circuits. Virginia, too, besides sending the deliverer of Boston, sent us some of her riflemen, as did also Maryland, to join our provincial forces for sharper service than the farmers' old muskets could perform. Truly, then, does all that Boston can do for the victims of calamity over the whole Union urge itself as an entailed obligation recognized by admitted claims.

Twice in the century has this blessed and privileged heritage of ours been rescued and redeemed; — once by ourselves, and then against and for ourselves. I have not the heart to recognize the lugubrious utterances heard among us just now over the commercial troubles and the wrecks of honor in high places, which have thrown a shadow upon our otherwise jubilant centennials. The times are not dreary; the men who live are not degenerate. The capital stock of our public wisdom, happiness and virtue has steadily increased. He who, because of exceptional cases or forms of evil and wrong, consigns his own age or heritage to decay, shows only his ignorance of the truth of history, and his distrust of the Divine workings in all progressive good. The most depraving and fatal influence that can possibly work through a community is the allowance, as if unquestioned, of a prevailing decay of public

and private virtue. Our brightest hope is in disbelieving that, and our noblest security is in disproving it.

As I read the history of our fathers, in all their generations, their toil and virtue seem to me to have been the noblest, in their steady regard for the welfare and happiness of their posterity. And, as I firmly believe that no single individual can follow the highest pattern of an earthly life, unless his hope and faith link on to a future, so I find it proved in all biographies and annals, that all unselfish, noble and heroic lives are those which parents lead for their children and their children's children. We have such lives among us in city, state and nation, private and public, high and humble. The three generations that have lived and died in this City of Boston, since its year of desolation, have wrought with diligence in all the tasks of duty; have been protected and controlled by wise and good laws; have lavishly sustained all institutions of learning, benevolence and mercy, and have enjoyed in their homes — under providential limitations only — the measurements and the sum of all earthly happiness. We have had able and faithful magistrates, — truly select-men. And as for pure and upright citizens, let us venture to invite the trial of the old Bible test with which the patriarch Abraham was so sorely exercised. He was promised that an imperilled city should be spared destruction if fifty righteous men could be found in it. As soon as he accepted the condition, he felt a misgiving, and pleaded that the requisite number might be reduced to forty-five. This being yielded, as he thought more and more of the severity of the test of *righteousness*, he begged to be answerable for finding only forty, then thirty, then twenty, then ten.

Now do we not all feel that if our honored Mayor was set to answer for this city, after that fashion, and was allowed to begin with the smallest number, ten, he would dare to go up on the schedule and be responsible for twenty, thirty, forty, forty-five and fifty? I have known that full number here, in every year of my mature life.

So, let me close with a slight expansion of the motto on our City Seal: "As God was with our Fathers, and has been and is with us, so may He be with our posterity."

At the conclusion of the oration, which was listened to with the closest attention, and received with hearty applause, the audience united in singing "America," after which the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Mr. Manning, and the services were brought to a close.

CHRONICLE OF THE SIEGE.

CHRONICLE OF THE SIEGE.

The writer of the preceding Address, in compliance with the wishes which have been expressed to him, has brought together from authentic sources the matter of the following pages, illustrative of the period and incidents of local history, which are here commemorated.

THE PROVINCIAL FORCES SUMMONED.

The Second Provincial Congress, which had met at Concord, had adjourned, on April 15th, 1775, to the 10th of May following. Two days afterwards, the apprehensions of immediate events of a startling character induced the committees of several neighboring towns, on April 18th, to summon the members to meet again as soon as possible. Such of them as could be reached convened at Concord on the twenty-second, and adjourned to Watertown on the same day, the object being to bring the executive and legislative body of the province as near as possible to the gathering military forces. The summons from the committee was made more effective, if not anticipated, by the alarming crisis brought on by the affair of the nineteenth.

In the interval, the following circular letter had been addressed by the Committee of Safety to the several towns. Before these letters could reach those to whom they were sent, the object they were designed to secure had been to some extent realized by the gathering of excited masses of people from quite a large circle of territory, Cambridge, Medford and Roxbury being the chief centres of the concourse.

"April 20, 1875.

"GENTLEMEN: — The barbarous Murders on our innocent Brethren on Wednesday, the nineteenth Instant, has made it absolutely necessary that we immediately raise an Army to defend our Wives and our Children from the

butchering Hands of an inhuman Soldiery, who, incensed at the Obstacles they met with in their bloody Progress, and enraged at being repulsed from the Field of Slaughter, will, without the least doubt, take the first Opportunity in their Power to ravage this devoted Country with Fire and Sword. We conjure you, therefore, by all that is dear, by all that is sacred, that you give all Assistance possible in forming an Army. Our all is at Stake; Death and Devastation are the certain Consequences of Delay; every Moment is infinitely precious; an Hour lost may deluge your Country in Blood, and entail perpetual Slavery upon the few of your Posterity who may survive the Carnage. We beg and entreat as you will answer it to your Country, to your own Consciences, and above all, as you will answer to God himself, that you will hasten and encourage by all possible Means the Inlistment of Men to form the Army, and send them forward to Head-Quarters, at Cambridge, with that Expedition, which the vast Importance and instant Urgency of the Affair demands.

"JOSEPH WARREN, *President P. T.*"

On the twenty-sixth of the month the committee addressed a second circular to the other New England provinces, asking that all the soldiers they could spare might be sent with provisions, ammunition and officers, and, if possible, artillery, to Cambridge, as our own men, so hurriedly assembled, would many of them need, temporarily, to return to their homes.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

A British officer writing from Boston to a friend in England, soon after his return from the affair at Concord and Lexington, gives us this precise date for the opening of the siege: "About seven o'clock in the evening we arrived at Charlestown, and took possession of a hill that commanded the town. The rebels shut up the Neck, and placed sentinels there, and took prisoner one officer of the 64th Regiment, so that in the course of two days we were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of living on salt provisions, and fairly blocked up in Boston."

Of similar purport is the disclosure in a long, confidential letter, written from Boston, under the pledge of secrecy, by Gen. Burgoyne to his friend Lord Rochfort, which, by a singular coincidence, is first brought to light in the publication of the General's private papers this year, a century after it was written: —

"I arrived in Boston, together with Generals Howe and Clinton, on the twenty-fifth of May. It would be unnecessary, were it possible, to describe our surprise, or other feelings, upon the appearances which at once, and on every side, were offered to our observation. The town, on the land side, invested by a rabble in arms, who, flushed with success and insolence, had advanced their sentries to pistol-shot of our out-guards; the ships in the harbor exposed to, and expecting, a cannonade or bombardment; in all companies, whether of officers or inhabitants, men still lost in a sort of stupefaction, which the events of the nineteenth of April had occasioned, and venting expressions of censure, anger or despondency. The principle of seizing arms, and thereby bringing the designs of the malcontents to a test and a decision, was certainly just. We can only wonder that it was not sooner adopted."

The siege may properly be distinguished into two stages, the one following the affair at Lexington and Concord, the other ensuing upon the battle at Bunker's Hill. The latter, of course, in its strictness, its protraction, the critical events which it involved, and in the triumph of the patriotic cause with which it closed, was far more interesting and momentous. But the earlier stage of the siege,—covering two months of the eleven of the investment of the town,—presented many exciting incidents and issues. In the first stage the British forces on the single peninsula of Boston, under Gen. Gage, were in duress; afterwards those who had fortified the heights of Charlestown, under command of Gen. Howe, were also beleaguered.

Even before the affair at Concord and Lexington the inhabitants of Boston were virtually under most of the disabilities and sufferings of an invested town. The civil power was in subjection to the military. Boston was a garrison. Large bodies of soldiers were quartered in its forts, on its open fields, and in its public and private buildings. The trades and occupations of peace were suspended or fettered. The people were exposed to insults and alarms, to mobs, riots and conflagrations from an unbridled and mocking soldiery, even the officers sometimes being far from blameless. There was much of putrid and infectious disease in the barracks and hospitals. The lower part of the Common was appropriated for a burial-ground for soldiers, who died in such numbers as to be interred in trenches. There was a constant rush

of deserters, either singly or in company, into the open country, by boats, by swimming, or over the Neck. The appearance of these in the country towns often caused annoyance or embarrassment. They might be spies, they might be profligates, but they professed to be disgusted with the service, and were ready to work in the inland towns, often supplying the places of men who had gone to the provincial camp. The loss and disaffection and demoralization visited upon the British army by the number and frequency of these desertions caused the commander to impose a most rigid surveillance over his men, with constant roll-calls, and to inflict the severest penalties of the lash and death upon culprits.

He had in the previous season most strongly fortified the lines at the Neck, with brick works, with ditches and strong wickets. A most positive and threatening protest from the selectmen alone prevented the opening of a trench to let in tide-waters across the causeway.

THE POOR IN BOSTON.

From the closing of the port in the previous June the inhabitants had been subjected to a series of inconveniences and inflictions steadily accumulating and intensifying. The generous sympathy of the other towns in this province, and of fellow-patriots all over the continent, including Montreal, was sending a steady stream of donations for the relief of the poor in Boston. But these for the most part reached the town by costly land-travel, as the water ways were closed. A committee for distributing these gifts dispensed them for a time, except to the sick, on condition of the performance of some work for the public. Provisions became scarce, and were held at an enormous cost, so that those who had been wont to enjoy variety and abundance of meats and vegetables, and milk and fresh fish and fuel, were even in fear of famine. The cows were denied their usual pasturage on the Common and other fields. Sentinels guarded every way of access to the town or exit from it.

GENERAL BURGOYNE ON THE SITUATION.

The confidential letter from Burgoyne to Lord Rochfort, previously quoted, greatly strengthens the evidence which we had before, that the two encounters which the British troops had had in April and June with

"the provincial rabble" had given them a somewhat more adequate sense of the spirit and courage of the people whom they had outraged. After informing his lordship, of what he no doubt believed, that the provincials at Charlestown had treble the force of the British, — the truth being that the British, independently of their war-vessels, actually outnumbered the provincials, — he proceeds to approve the making the utmost for popular effect of the alleged British victory on Bunker Hill. But he most significantly adds: —

"It may be wise policy to support this impression to the utmost, both in writing and discourse; but when I withdraw the curtain, your lordship will find much cause for present reflection, much for the exercise of your judgment upon the future conduct of the scene. Turn your eyes first, my lord, to the behavior of the enemy. The defence was well-conceived and obstinately maintained; the retreat was no flight; it was even covered with bravery and military skill, and proceeded no farther than to the next hill, where a new post was taken, new intrenchments instantly begun, and their numbers affording constant reliefs of workmen, they have been continued day and night ever since. View now, my lord, the side of victory; and first the list of killed and wounded. If fairly given, it amounts to no less than ninety-two officers, many of them an irreparable loss — a melancholy disproportion to the number of the private soldiers — and there is a melancholy reason for it. Though my letter passes in security, I tremble while I write it; and let it not pass even in a whisper from your lordship to more than *one* person [the king]. The zeal and intrepidity of the officers, which was without exception exemplary, was ill-seconded by the private men. Discipline, not to say courage, was wanting. In the critical moment of carrying the redoubt, the officers of some corps were almost alone; and what was the worst part of the confusion of these corps, all the wounds of the officers were not received from the enemy."

This very remarkable disclosure will bring to the mind of the reader the contrast, to some extent, of what was experienced on the provincial side, where it was thought at the time that — of course, allowing for very marked exceptions — the men exhibited more prowess than the officers.

A reason why, independently of what has just been quoted, Burgoyne

may have "trembled" while he wrote this letter, is found in the following criticism upon his superior officer: —

"I think General Gage possessed of every quality to maintain quiet government with honor to himself and happiness to those he governs; his temper and his talents, of which he has many, are calculated to dispense the offices of justice and humanity. In the military I believe him capable of figuring upon ordinary and given lines of conduct; but his mind has not resources for great and sudden and hardy exertions which spring self-suggested in extraordinary characters, and generally overbear all opposition. In short, I think him a contrast to that cast of men, somewhere described —

"'Fit to disturb the peace of all the world,
And rule it when 'tis wildest.'

"Unfortunately for us that cast of character, at least the latter part of it, is precisely what we want here; and I hope I shall not be thought to disparage my General and my friend, in pronouncing him unequal to his situation, when I add that I think it one in which Cæsar might have failed."

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

To all the inflictions visited upon the inhabitants of the town was soon added the risk to which they were subjected from any violent or warlike acts or demonstrations from the patriots gathering around the invested peninsula, who might feel prompted to measures ruinous alike to friend and foe.

The relation was for a while a strange and perplexing one between the parties who had not as yet irrevocably defined the issues and chosen sides. The forms of peaceful and respectful official intercourse were kept up, with a conscious sense of their hollowness and insincerity. In spite of the efforts of restraint there was none the less a constant communication between the town and country. There was a coming and a going, sometimes openly, sometimes furtively; various pretences secured liberty, and money brought privileges then and there, as elsewhere and always. Indeed, even in the later and the longer stage of the siege everything that occurred in town or country, in either camp, was speedily known to the other party. Deserters, spies, and those who contrived to evade all guards, and to surmount all difficulties, got out of the town,

and usually went to give information at head-quarters. True, this was not always to be relied on. Wild rumors, silly tales, mischievous inventions, fabrications and exaggerations, taught a practised caution. A Mr. Mellicant, of Watertown, an officer on half-pay in the royal service in Boston, was said to have frequently received information from our camp, by means of his wife, who passed the lines; and the Committee of Safety, acting on this case, were induced to provide as effectually as possible against such intercourse. We must remember that the wide expanse of the water and the marsh land then surrounding the peninsula required much prowess of a rower or a swimmer in passing over it.

COVENANT BETWEEN GENERAL GAGE AND THE INHABITANTS.

Very soon after the affair at Lexington, the whig, or patriotic inhabitants of Boston, realizing their anxieties and dangers, applied to Gen. Gage for liberty to leave it. At first he positively refused. The case was an embarrassing one, and, as he saw, had two sides to it. For two reasons he would gladly have been rid of them; as, first, they might keep up intercourse, exchange signals, and give information to those outside, and even aid them in case they made an assault; and, second, he would be relieved of an element of disaffection near his soldiers, and of the probable necessity of providing the citizens with fuel and the means of sustenance. On the other hand, it was to be considered that, if the patriotic citizens were allowed to go out, with arms, money and goods, they would strongly reinforce and encourage the rebels outside, while their continued presence in the town was some security for internal quiet, and against an assault. The latter considerations had sway with Gage.

The selectmen were called upon to meet the crisis, as it was understood that the Governor meant to require of the citizens a surrender of their arms. A town-meeting was held at Faneuil Hall, on Saturday, April 22, at which the citizens objected to give up their arms, without pledge from the Governor of security for their lives and property, and liberty to leave the town. A committee chosen at once to wait upon him and arrange matters was detained by him so long that the meeting was adjourned to the next day, Sunday, to hear the result of the conference.

The solemn day and occasion made a solemn meeting, which was opened with prayer, by Dr. Andrew Eliot. The Hon. James Bowdoin presided and, as Chairman of the committee to confer with the Governor, reported in substance: —

"That the committee had represented to the Governor the uneasiness of the inhabitants at the avenues of the town being shut up, and no person admitted to come in or go out, and the fears and apprehensions they were under with respect to the behavior of the troops in case of an attack from the country, etc. To which His Excellency replied, that he could not be answerable for the conduct of the troops, unless he had absolute assurance of the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants, and that none would be so satisfactory as the surrender of their arms: that upon doing this they should have liberty to remove out of town, *with their effects*, and have carriages to assist those that went by land; and he would desire the Admiral [Sam'l Greaves, who had succeeded Admiral Montagu on this station] to assist with his boats those who should remove by water."

He also promised to make provision that the poor should not suffer.

After some discussion at the meeting, the inhabitants, partially relieved, voted to comply with the proposal. They punctiliously kept their agreement, surrendering their arms, to be deposited in Faneuil Hall or elsewhere, under the care of the selectmen. The names of the owners were severally attached to them, and it was covenanted that they should be returned at a proper time.

In the journal of the Committee of Safety, at Cambridge, April 28, 1775, is the following entry: "Mr. Henderson Inches, who left Boston this day, attended, and informed the committee that the inhabitants of Boston had agreed with the General to have liberty to leave Boston with their effects, provided that they lodged their arms with the selectmen of that town, to be by them kept during the present dispute, and that, agreeably to said agreement, the inhabitants had, on yesterday, lodged 1,778 fire-arms, 634 pistols, 973 bayonets, and 38 blunderbusses, with their selectmen."

But when the owners of the arms after the evacuation sought them, they were found to be hopelessly damaged and worthless. The Loyalists, or "Government Men," in the town, were chagrined at this covenant with rebels, and said that Gage had yielded too much, and that some arms

had been concealed. A rigid search was made for everything in the shape of a weapon.

The inhabitants, having met the terms of their agreement, trusted that the Governor would fulfil his, but were disappointed and irritated by subsequent conditions. They had supposed that they would be free to take with them *all their moveable property* at their pleasure, with facilities of land and water conveyance, as promised. But the Governor at once appointed a new officer, under the title of Town Major, without a pass from whom he forbade any one to leave the town.

Great difficulties were thrown in the way of obtaining these passes. Some applicants waited days and weeks for them; they were granted spasmodically, suspended for days and weeks, and then resumed. Some obtained them by bribes, some through tory friends. Then again very slight assistance was afforded by free boats, as the Admiral would not co-operate. All passage by carriages over the Neck was interdicted, and the aged, infirm and sick were great sufferers. But the meanest evasion of the covenant made by the Governor, and which brought his honor under a cloud, relieved only by the plea that he had the advice of his counsellors and some tory lawyers, for the construction of the term, was as to the meaning of the word *effects*. The lawyers said it included only, "furniture, clothes, plate and money." The inhabitants insisted that it covered "provisions, merchandise, and all working tools." A committee was appointed to remonstrate with the Governor, but he held by the advice given him, and the exiles — passing an inspection by appointed officers — had to leave their goods behind them, or win favors by bribery. These inspectors were tyrannous and abusive in their office. Three places of exit were provided and rigidly watched: the Neck, Charlestown Ferry and Long Wharf. Here men and women were searched, their bundles opened, food taken from them, and they and their effects kept out for nights in the streets till permitted to go. Not only merchandise and provisions, but even medicine, came under prohibition for removal, and an intense feeling of hostility, with the wretchedness of despair, were excited in many persons who would have inclined to be moderate, and in the distressed members of separated families, aged and infirm parents, husbands, wives and children. The warmest partisans of the royal cause in the town were charged,

probably with good reason, with inducing Gen. Gage to break the spirit and even the letter of his agreement. The tories denounced the arrangement, by which all who were in sympathy with the rebels outside were allowed to join them, as impolitic and of pernicious tendency. Their departure would remove one of the chief securities against incendiarism and bombardment. On the day of the battle at Lexington some two hundred of these tories, chiefly crown-officials and traders, had sent in their names to the General volunteering to arm in his service. The General gladly accepted the offer, and the volunteers were at once enrolled under Brigadier General Ruggles, a country tory. A panic rose in this corps on the going out of the inhabitants, and after sharply remonstrating with the General they threatened to lay down their arms and even to go out themselves. The General, after temporizing, yielded to their remonstrances, and came to the persuasion that even the presence of women and children in the town might be a security to it. Hence the restrictions put upon the carrying out of the terms of his own covenant, and the final refusal of passes.

The Committee of Safety at Cambridge, in a letter to the Selectmen of Boston, dated April 22, anticipating the contract with Gage, had approved it in these words: —

"Gentlemen: — The Committee of Safety being informed that Gen. Gage has proposed a treaty with the inhabitants of the town of Boston, whereby he stipulates that the women and children, with all their effects, shall have safe conduct without the garrison; and their men also, upon condition that the male inhabitants within the town shall, on their part, solemnly engage that they will not take up arms against the King's troops, within the town, should an attack be made from without, — we cannot but esteem those conditions to be just and reasonable; and as the inhabitants are in danger of suffering from the want of provisions, which, in this time of general confusion, cannot be conveyed into the town, we are willing you shall enter into and faithfully keep the engagement afore mentioned, etc."

Of course the Provincial Congress remonstrated against the embarrassments put upon the removal of the people, and against the final breach of his covenant by the General.

Charlestown, though, till the battle of June 17th, nominally free from

military control, was still immediately overawed by the British and their ships. It was gradually becoming deserted by its people, save by a few who tried to protect their property. Its poorer inhabitants were provided for in the country towns. Unfortunately, too, some of the people of Boston had been transferring goods and valuables to the doomed town, as if for greater security. The library of Dr. Mather had been deposited there. Of course all these goods of every kind were destroyed when the British fired the town. As early as the first week in May a guard at Charlestown Neck prevented the entrance of persons or provisions without a pass.

General Gage seems to have regarded his demand for the delivery of arms as including those of all the inhabitants. He therefore issued on June 19th the following proclamation: —

"BY THE GOVERNOR. A PROCLAMATION.

"*Whereas*, notwithstanding the repeated Assurances of the Selectmen and others, That all the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston had, *bona Fide*, delivered their Fire-Arms unto the Persons appointed to receive them, though I had Advices at the same Time of the contrary; and whereas, I have since had full Proof that many have been perfidious in this Respect, and have secreted great Numbers:

"*I Have* thought fit to issue this Proclamation, to require of all Persons who have yet Fire-Arms in their possession, immediately to surrender them at the Court-House to such Persons as shall be authorized to receive them: and hereby to declare that all Persons in whose possession any Fire-Arms may hereafter be found, will be deemed Enemies to His Majesty's Government.

"Given at Boston the Nineteenth Day of June, 1775, &c., &c.

"THO'S GAGE.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"THO'S FLUCKER, *Secr'y.*

"GOD Save the KING."

The following afterwards appeared at its date: —

"NOTIFICATION.

"ALL Persons who are desirous of leaving the Town of Boston are hereby called upon to give in their Names to the Town Major forthwith.

"By Order of His Excellency the General,

"JAMES URQUHART, *Town Major.*

"BOSTON, 24th of July, 1775."

The Provincial Congress, at Concord, April 14, recognized the prudence of the step by which many of the inhabitants of the town, who had been able to do so, had already left it, and provided for helping the poor to come out. On April 20, Joseph Warren, as Chairman of the Committee of Safety, addressed a respectful letter to General Gage, asking him as to the time that was to be allowed to those who wished respectively to go into or to come out of Boston, and suggesting that he remove the restriction by which he had limited the number of wagons that might be admitted at any one time to thirty. The matter of the liberation of the inhabitants was referred by the Provincial Congress to the Committee of Safety, and action by the committee was impatiently asked for on April 30th. The committee reported on the same day, accepting Gage's terms, and agreeing that those who should go into the town might take with them their effects, excepting arms and ammunition. It was also thoughtfully ordered that the members remaining in the country towns of families, the heads of which might be in Boston, favoring the royal side, should not be treated with any violence or indignity. Furthermore, permission and facilities were granted to all who wished to remain in Boston to send out into the country for their moveable property, excepting arms and ammunition. The obstructions imposed by Gen. Gage continuing to prevent the egress of the inhabitants from the town, the Provincial Congress addressed a letter to Gen. Ward, at Roxbury, to do everything in his power to secure ingress and egress to all who, under the conditions, desired it. On May 9th, a committee was instructed to make "a spirited application" to Gen. Gage. The result was the following letter, sent to him by the Congress, on May 10th: —

"*To His Excellency General Gage:* —

"Sir, — This Congress have received frequent intelligence that their brethren, the inhabitants of the town of Boston, have to contend, in their removal therefrom, with numerous delays and embarrassments, contrary to the stipulation proposed and agreed to between Your Excellency and the selectmen of that town.

"We think it our duty to remonstrate to Your Excellency, that, from the papers communicated to us by the said selectmen, it appeared, that the inhabitants were promised, upon surrendering their arms, that they should be permitted to leave the town, and carry with them their effects. The condition was immediately complied with on the part of the people; since which, though a number of days have elapsed, but a very small proportion of the inhabitants have been allowed to take the benefit of your covenant.

"We would not affront Your Excellency by the most distant insinuation that you intended to deceive and disarm the people by a cruel act of perfidy. A regard to your own character, as well as the fatal consequences which will necessarily result from the violation of your solemn treaties, must suggest sufficient reasons to deter a gentleman of your rank and station from so injurious a design. But Your Excellency must be sensible, that a delay of justice is a denial of it, and extremely oppressive to the people now held in duress.

"This Congress, though not the original party in the treaty, have taken every step in their power to facilitate the measure, and in the whole of their conduct have endeavored to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of humanity and good faith, and still indulge hopes that the confidence of the inhabitants of Boston, in Your Excellency's honor and faithfulness, is not misplaced; and that, notwithstanding any disagreeable occurrences, naturally resulting from the confused state of the colony, which this Congress have discountenanced and endeavored to rectify, Your Excellency will no longer suffer your treaty with a distressed people, who ought by no means to be affected thereby, to be further violated."

The Committee of Safety, on May 17th, passed the following vote: "*Whereas* General Gage has not kept his agreement with the inhabitants of the town of Boston, but, notwithstanding his said agreement, has prevented, and even refused, said inhabitants, with their effects, from removing into the country; therefore, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Congress that they rescind their resolution of the 30th ultimo, permitting the inhabitants of this colony to remove, with their effects,

into the town of Boston, which resolution was founded upon said agreement." Accordingly, the Congress, on the twentieth of the month, resolved as follows: "*Whereas*, this Congress did, on the 30th of April last, pass a resolve for permitting such inhabitants of the colony to remove into Boston, with their effects, fire-arms and ammunition excepted, as should incline thereto, it being in consequence of Gen. Gage's promise to the inhabitants of Boston, that, upon resigning their arms and ammunition they should have liberty to remove from said town with their effects; and *whereas*, but a small proportion of the said inhabitants of Boston have been hitherto permitted to leave the town, and those only to bring their clothing and household furniture, they being constrained to leave their provisions and all their other effects; therefore, *Resolved*, That Gen. Ward be and he hereby is directed to order the guards in future not to suffer any provisions or effects, excepting furniture and clothing, to be carried into the town of Boston, so long as the said Gen. Gage shall suffer the persons or effects of the inhabitants of said town, contrary to his plighted faith, to be restrained."

It is difficult to estimate, with much precision, the exact number of the inhabitants of Boston, of both sexes and of all ages, who removed from it under this first conditional allowance offered by the British commander. As we shall see, by and by, another opportunity for a further portion of the distressed people to go out, though under still harder conditions, was offered, caused by the press of circumstances. The qualified privilege offered by the proclamation in April was practically impaired by so many embarrassments and caprices, that the exit of those who wished to avail themselves of it was wearily protracted all through the month of June. The alternative of going or remaining was to many but a balance of hardships and distresses. Large numbers of them, having no relatives in the country, and no kind of profitable employment or resources, felt that they would have to throw themselves on the charity of towns or individuals already heavily burdened, and looking forward to severer exactions. They must leave their dwellings and their property, which they could not remove, to all the risks of disaster, mischief, violence, and of wanton riots of a military occupancy. To set against these were the steadily increasing scarcity and exorbitant prices of fuel and provisions, loss of means of living through trade or labor, fearful risks

from pestilential disease, the hateful presence of a foreign army, and the constant peril of assaults from the patriots outside.

There were supposed to have been about 17,000 inhabitants in Boston when hostilities began at Lexington, and it was estimated that nearly or quite 12,000 had gone out by the end of June. More were yet, as above intimated, to go out in the autumn. There were several cases in which one member of a family concluded to remain to look after house, property, shop or store, while the other members went into the country. Then the long months of separation, with all the varied calamities and apprehensions, keeping them at a fever heat, and with the extremest difficulty of communicating by letters, which were opened on both sides of the lines, were further aggravations of misery. The General compelled the selectmen to remain in the town, but they had scarce anything beyond sanitary functions, and a partial oversight of the poor. Town meetings of the citizens of Boston were held in Watertown. Records of these and of the doings of the selectmen are preserved in the City Clerk's office, but they are exceedingly meagre. Those of the meetings held at Watertown are largely occupied with provisions for the oration on "the horrid massacre," and with thanks to the orators. The Provincial Congress did all that was in its power by recommendations to provide, in the country towns, for the reception in each of a certain number of exiles who had no private resources, and fixed on a weekly allowance to be paid for their support by the selectmen of such towns, or by their Committees of Correspondence. A spirit of mutual dependence and harmony, and a determination to continue resistance, meeting all its consequences, were very much quickened by these interminglings of the people from the town with those in the country.

"THE FRIENDS OF GOVERNMENT."

Boston now became simply what some of those left in it called it, "a Garrison of the King." Besides the military, it now had in it — we can scarcely say that it sheltered and protected — a motley, discordant and uncomfortable conglomeration of people. The country towns had had at the same time several persons and a few families of whom they were glad to be rid.

TORIES IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

These were then called Tories, afterwards Loyalists, and Refugees. Some of these received hard measure, and were treated undoubtedly with severity, cruelty, and absolute injustice; and unwisely so, as the event proved, for ends of policy. In several of the country towns were conspicuous citizens, professional men or merchants, of influence and high social standing, who were more or less out of sympathy with what they regarded as the rashness, turbulence or violence of the spirit of liberty as it was then rising. They thought our grievances exaggerated; doubted if we could cope with Great Britain; feared our burdens would be increased rather than lightened; distrusted the hot-headedness of some whom they looked upon as demagogues; and, with a hesitating and conservative spirit, they counselled moderation and delay. Either from words known to have dropped from them, or from their bolder opposition, or from their absence from the popular assemblies, such men came under suspicion, and were marked with distrust. The patriotic committees of the towns took them in hand, went to examine them, or summoned them to a meeting to give an account of themselves by humiliation and avowals of sympathy with the popular cause. Some, timidly or honestly, made their peace. Others, who would not yield their convictions, were treated with indignity and violence, by mobs investing their dwellings, by threats of tar and feathers, and by destruction or seizure of their property. These procedures confirmed them in their opinions and course of conduct, and stiffened their obstinacy. Many of these, being hustled about and threatened in their own towns, had already found a troubled refuge in Boston. Others had come into the neighborhood of the Provincial camp as if really safer there than at home among gathering minute-men and under the surveillance of committees.

With the softened spirit of a retrospective review of those days of fierce excitement, we cannot but mingle with our pity for some individuals who were proscribed as enemies to their country, a regret for the severity, and sometimes gross injustice, with which they were treated. A broad distinction is to be drawn between the interested partisans of royalty engaged in profitable trade, or fawning upon the representatives

of power, in the town, and the professional men or private citizens in the country, who were forced to affiliate with them. There were peace-loving and every way blameless gentlemen and ladies scattered over the province, who, on being roughly waited upon by a self-constituted committee of "Sons of Liberty," began by simply objecting to, and then resenting, the catechising to which they were subjected. If any utterance or overt act on the part of such persons, indicating a lack of sympathy with the popular movement, could be charged against them, they were treated with great indignity, — their names being posted as enemies or traitors, their houses and goods rifled, or their dwellings befouled by the process called, "a coating of Hillsborough paint." Threats of "tar and feathers" were, however, more frequently uttered than carried out. A very humiliating method was enjoined as the condition of full or probationary pardon for having offended the people. The penitent must fall on his knees before his townsmen, and, expressing deep contrition, implore their forgiveness.

When Gage covenanted for the departure of the inhabitants of Boston, he asked that a letter should be written by the selectmen, to Dr. Warren, at Watertown, desiring leave for all such persons in the country towns, as might wish to do so, to come unmolested into Boston, with their effects. The Provincial Congress, responding to the supposed fairness of Gage, on April 30, as above stated, granted such permission, and stationed officers at the Neck of Boston and Charlestown to secure them free entrance. Those wretched fugitives little realized then what they had yet to endure from their exasperated countrymen, as the odium in which they were held was steadily intensified, and as their doom was confiscation, humiliation, expatriation and poverty. Often did many of them, even from their pensioned refuge in the mother-country and in its wild provinces, send back longing laments for the fields of New England. The severest language which came from the pen of Washington was in denunciation of the Tories — "those execrable parricides whose counsels and aid have deluged their country with blood." Protesting against the treatment they had received, they said to the Whigs, "You make the air resound with the cry of liberty, but subject those who differ from you to the humble condition of slaves, not permitting us to act, or even think, according to the dictates of conscience." The only reply they received

was, "The majority in a free government must bear rule. There is an immense majority for liberty. You take your side — for failure or triumph." From the opening of the struggle the crown promised to all Tories security and compensation.

LADY FRANKLAND.

Among those persons living in the country, whose sympathies led them to seek the protection of the British General by availing themselves of the privileges granted by Congress of removing into Boston, was a lady whose career had such elements of romantic interest as to prompt a special reference, in this connection, to her individual experience.

The most lucrative crown office in Boston in the years preceding the outbreak of strife was that of the Collector of the Customs. Though the salary attached to it was but £100, the perquisites of it made it very profitable and more desirable than that of Governor of the province. Shirley made interest for the Collectorship, but had to content himself with the office of Governor, because he had at the time a more powerful rival. This rival is known by the name of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, grandson of a daughter, the youngest and favorite child, of Oliver Cromwell. He was born May 10, 1716, at Bengal, where his father was residing as Governor of the East India Company's factory. In 1741, in his twenty-fifth year, he was made Collector of Boston. His winning and engaging manners, and other personal qualities, made him a great favorite in the vice-regal society of the town, and he was a generous patron of King's Chapel and its rectors, and of Harvard College. He had with him a natural son, a little boy bearing the name of Henry Cromwell. On an official visit which he made to Marblehead in the year 1742, his attention was drawn to the rustic beauty of a young girl of sixteen years, Agnes Surriage, a daughter of poor, but decent parents, who, with bare feet and limbs, was scrubbing the floor of the inn. He gave her half a crown with which she might buy shoes. On a second visit, soon after, seeing her again in the same condition, he questioned her about her shoes. She replied that she had bought a pair, but kept them "to wear to meeting Sundays." Seemingly engaged by her charms and the promise of what she might be made to be, Frankland, by

consent of her parents, had her brought to Boston, there, at his expense, to receive the best education enjoyed by the daughters of the aristocracy of the time and place. Four years after his first sight of her she became a member of his household in a relation which had not the sanction of legal or religious rites. To relieve the scandal of that relation which prevented this child of poverty from enjoying the social position she might have had as his wife, he purchased, in 1752, a large extent of land in the town of Hopkinton, twenty-five miles from Boston, where he built and furnished sumptuously a spacious manor-house, with out-buildings, gardens, parks and fine shrubberies, and where he kept a dozen or twenty slaves. Here he maintained a bounteous hospitality while visiting Boston to attend to his official duties. There were many loyalists in Hopkinton, where lands had been purchased and an Episcopal Church planted by Roger Price, the uncomfortable rector of King's Chapel.

Having occasion to visit England on business, in 1754, his family connections would not recognize Agnes, who accompanied him. He was residing with her temporarily at Lisbon, when, as he was driving in a carriage with another lady, he was buried for more than an hour under the ruins of a falling building in the great earthquake which desolated that city on Nov. 1, 1755. In the horrors of his situation he lamented some of his faults and vices, and penitently resolved if he escaped death to amend his life. Being rescued with only severe bruises, he took Agnes at once to a church, where the marriage rite was solemnized between them, which was soon after repeated by the chaplain of the ship, an Episcopal clergyman, as they were returning to England. His high-born friends now heartily received the rescued husband and the legal wife. Returning with her to Boston in 1756, he purchased, for a town-house, the splendid Clarke mansion in Garden Court street, next to Gov. Hutchinson's, still retaining the estate at Hopkinton. The writer of these pages, some twenty-five years ago, visited the fine country manor when it was occupied by the widow of Gen. Hildreth, who died there in 1857, in her eighty-eighth year. She showed the writer a chamber to which it was said Frankland used to retire on the anniversary of his rescue from the earthquake, and there, wearing the clothes from which the marks of the catastrophe had not been removed,

keep solemn fast-day. The house was destroyed by an accidental fire in 1858.

After another visit to and residence in Lisbon, as Consul General, Frankland returned to Boston in 1763. His failing health took him again to England with his wife and Henry Cromwell, where he died at Bath, in 1768. Lady Agnes, with the boy, herself childless, came back to Hopkinton, where the years passed quietly and pleasantly till the siege of Boston. Of course, all the attachments of her later life were with those who were shut up in the garrisoned town, while her presence and influence were an offence to the rural stock of Hopkinton.

In answer to her request that she might move to Boston, in order to embark for England, the Committee of Safety, on May 15, 1775, "Upon the application of Lady Frankland, *Voted*, that she have liberty to pass into Boston with the following goods and articles for her voyage, viz.: 6 trunks; 1 chest; 3 beds and bedding; 6 wethers; 2 pigs; 1 small keg of pickled tongues; some hay; 3 bags of corn; and such other goods as she thinks proper."

The following permit was granted: —

"*To the Colony Guard*: —

"Permit Lady Frankland, of Hopkinton, with her attendants, goods, and the provisions above mentioned, to pass to Boston, by express order of the Committee of Safety.

"BENJAMIN CHURCH, JR., *Chairman*.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, May 15, 1775."

Notwithstanding this official action, an armed party in the town of Hopkinton, or on the way to Boston, under the lead of Mr. Abner Craft, resisted the lady's removal. The matter coming before the Provincial Congress, on May 18th, a committee was appointed to inquire into the facts of the case. On the report of this committee the Congress "*Resolved*, that Mr. Abner Craft be, and hereby is, directed forthwith to attend this Congress." After he had attended, made explanation and withdrawn, it was further "*Resolved*, that he should be gently admonished by the president, and be assured that the Congress were determined to preserve their dignity and power over the military."

"*Resolved*, That Lady Frankland be permitted to go into Boston with the following articles, viz.: seven trunks, all the beds and furniture to them, all the boxes and crates, a basket of chickens and a bag of corn, two barrels and a hamper, two horses and two chaises, and all the articles in the chaise, excepting arms and ammunition; one phaeton, some tongues, hams and veal, sundry small bundles. Which articles, having been examined by a committee from this Congress, she is permitted to have them carried in, without any further examination."

On the next day, Col. Bond, with a guard of six men, was appointed to escort the lady with her effects to Boston, showing to General Thomas, at the lines, a copy of the resolves.

She took refuge temporarily at her house on Garden-court street, from which she witnessed some of the horrors of the Battle at Charlestown and the Conflagration. She gave her services to the nursing of some of the wounded. She availed herself of the first opportunity to sail with Henry Cromwell for England, where, at the age of 57, she died, in 1783, a year after she had formed a second marriage.

BENJAMIN THOMPSON, COUNT RUMFORD.

Another individual, who was destined to attain a world-wide fame as a philanthropist and a man of science, appears in a trying and somewhat equivocal position, among those who at this time found refuge in Boston. Born as the son of a farmer in Woburn, in 1753, showing from his earliest youth some of the qualities of genius, Benjamin Thompson, while teaching school in Concord, N. H., had married a rich widow, had risen in his social relations, and received, just before the opening of hostilities, a military commission from the royal governor of New Hampshire. He had come under suspicion at Concord for tory proclivities, and being ill treated and threatened there had sought refuge in his native place at Woburn, Mass. Here he had been confined, and, after a public examination, the Committee of Correspondence of that town had neither acquitted nor condemned him. He therefore appealed to the Committee of Safety for a full and fair trial, and an honorable discharge, alleging that his personal safety and reputation depended upon a thorough and impartial investigation of the charges against him. The

only recognition of his case on the records of the Provincial Congress, is under date of May 20: "The petition of Benjamin Thompson to the Committee of Safety was read, and ordered to subside."

The young man lingered awhile about Cambridge and Charlestown, and asked unsuccessfully for a commission and employment in the army that was forming. He did good service in helping to remove the library and apparatus of the college. At last, chagrined and irritated, he went off to Newport, from which he found passage to Boston. There he so ingratiated himself with the royalists, that, at the evacuation, he was sent by Gen. Howe with despatches for Lord George Germaine, under whom he became secretary in the department for the American war.

These country tories found in Boston some fellow-sufferers more or less conscientious than themselves, and either by selfish interest or the force of associations firm adherents of the royal side. These were such of the councillors as had accepted the office on appointment or command of the king in contravention of the Province Charter; crown officials, and their partisans, with their families, interested in the revenue and in supplying the army; a few merchants and traders, and a coterie of such as followed the fashions of the times. Such as these, with a few timid but true adherents of the popular cause, made up, with the soldiers, the inmates of the garrison. Some of the patriotic remnant kept a watchful eye on what was transpiring around them, and upon the plans of the enemy, and with great risk communicated valuable information to the besiegers outside. Occasionally a bright youth, or a bold man, would work his way from the town to the patriot camp.

FIRE IN BOSTON.

In the midst of all the direful trials attending the leaving Boston by so many of its people, occurred the calamity of a disastrous conflagration, on Wednesday, the 17th of May. A party of soldiers were handling cartridges in a store used as a barrack on the south side of the town dock, when by some accident the cartridges ignited, setting fire to the store. The flames spread rapidly till some thirty warehouses and buildings were destroyed, involving much valuable property, including some of the donations that had been sent to the poor of Boston. There

was much confusion, as the General had recently put the fire engines in charge of the soldiers, who did not know how to use them, and had afterwards to call in the aid of the citizens. Instead of ringing the bells as usual on an alarm, the soldiers beat the roll-call. There was a foolish rumor that the Whigs in the town had set the fire.

CARE FOR A CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

General Gage was now no longer the Governor of Massachusetts, so far as any recognized authority over its people was concerned. His commands, orders and proclamations were limited to the little peninsula of Boston. The Provincial Congress, at Watertown, in May, resolved, that, by his arbitrary course, he had disqualified himself to serve the colony as Governor, or in any other capacity; that no obedience was due to him or his proclamations, and that he should be regarded as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country. They recommended the towns and districts to choose Representatives for a General Assembly at Watertown, July 19, opened a subscription for a loan to be committed to a Treasurer of their own, who displaced the King's, and appointed May 11 for a day of fasting and prayer.

There is a significance in the wording and contents of the successive proclamations issued by the Provincial and Continental Congresses for days of solemn religious observance, Fast and Thanksgiving, marking the gradual waning of the sentiment of loyalty, or, at least, of the expression of it. The matter and phraseology of these papers were evidently studied with care. They were not prepared by clergymen, but by lay committees. In the proclamation by which the Provincial Congress had appointed March 16 for a Fast day, the Divine blessing is implored to "rest upon George the Third, our rightful King, and upon all the royal family." In the proclamation which appointed May 11 for the same sacred observance, the fact is recognized that "the New England colonies are reduced to the ungrateful alternative of a tame submission to a state of absolute vassalage to the will of a despotic minister," or of meeting the dire necessity by arms in self-defence. The sentiment of loyalty breathes only the petition, "that the people of Great Britain and their rulers may have their eyes open to discern the things that shall

make for peace," etc. Again, on a report of a committee appointed to prepare a resolve for a Fast day on July 13, an amendment was voted for introducing a petition for a "blessing on the Continental Congress," and a prayer for the "unity of the colonies." On June 22 the proclamation was once more recommitted for an amendment, and "Mr. Webster and Deacon Fisher" were added to the committee. When the proclamation goes forth, the "cruelty and barbarity" of the two recent assaults are emphasized, but neither Parliament nor King finds a place in the prayers. But after the appointment of the day, its observance was superseded by a proclamation in which the Continental Congress had designated July 20 "as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer" for "the inhabitants of all the English colonies on the continent." In this a blessing is invoked upon "our rightful sovereign, King George the Third," and a reconciliation is prayed for "with the parent State, on terms constitutional and honorable to both." The varying phraseology of these documents, by which, in good time, God was asked to bless and save "the People," instead of "the King," was a matter of observation and criticism in England. The circulation of the proclamations into all the towns, from the pulpits of the churches of which they were read, followed by observances in the assemblies and the houses, was one of the best mediums of sympathy, influence and confidence between the tentative government of the province and the people. That tentative government was allowed and recognized, under the emergency, till it could find confirmation and exercise authority by organic provisions and sanctions.

The following is the reply of advice and instruction given by the Continental Congress in reply to the call from Massachusetts, on May 16, for direction in the matter of civil government: —

"In Congress, Friday, June 9, 1775.

"*Resolved*, That no obedience being due to the Act of Parliament for altering the Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, nor to a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor who will not observe the directions of, but endeavor to subvert that Charter, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor are to be considered as absent, and these offices vacant. And as there is no Council there, and the inconveniences arising from the suspension of the powers of Government are intolerable, especially at a time when General Gage hath actually levied war,

and is carrying on hostilities against his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that colony: that in order to conform as near as may be to the spirit and substance of the Charter, it be recommended to the Provincial Congress to write Letters to the Inhabitants of the Several Places which are entitled to representation in Assembly, requesting them to choose such representatives; and that the Assembly when chosen should elect Counsellors, which Assembly and Council should exercise the Powers of Government, until a Governor of his Majesty's Appointment will consent to govern the Colony according to its Charter.

"A true copy from the Minutes.

"CHARLES THOMPSON, *Sec'ry.*

"By order of the Congress,

"JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*"

A copy of this resolve was sent to the Selectmen of each of the towns of the province to direct the choice of Representatives for a Provincial Congress to be convened at Watertown on July 19. The exiled citizens of Boston were summoned, by their Town Clerk, to meet at Concord on July 18, to choose their representatives.

What is said in the preceding Address concerning the peculiar characteristics of the official papers, circulars, appeals and other documents to be classified under the general term of "State papers," as all relating to public interests, and passing between representative or administrative bodies, might be richly illustrated if there were space for it here. The reader of a mass of those papers will be led to wonder where and how the writers of them attained their skill, felicity, acuteness, and extraordinary sagacity and discretion in the composition of them. We can account for the striking ability manifested by John Adams, for instance, in this direction, partly by native genius and intellectual force, and partly by his diligent study of every work on law and government on which he could lay his hands. But the astonishing fertility, acuteness and discrimination of his kinsman, Samuel Adams, baffle any easy explanation. Yet it is not only in those papers which emanated from the most conspicuous patriots and leaders that we trace the remarkable characteristics more or less common and impressive in all of them. The publication of a large number of the local histories of the older towns of Massachusetts has set before any one

interested to pursue the inquiry a voluminous mass of reports, instructions, arguments and counsels relating to the revolutionary epoch, written by individuals or committees, as we may almost say, simply by the light of nature, but exhibiting qualities of real, political, statesmanlike ability. The transcendent influence which DeTocqueville so discerningly assigned to New England town-meetings in inspiriting, guiding and leading to a successful issue our great revolutionary struggle, will find full confirmation in portions of the contents of these town histories. It was hardly strange that, at the time, the British ministry and Parliament should have been so mystified and perplexed by the real nature and phenomena of a Boston or a New England town-meeting. They were indigenous products, self-evolved methods, developments from the soil, habits and circumstances of the New England people. Very ingenious, but hardly successful, efforts have been made, by archæological and antiquarian essayists, to trace similar and parallel institutions in the democracies of ancient Greece, and in the municipalities of some portions of the European continent. But they were substantially original and unique here. Even in the other colonies of the continent, as in the Jerseys, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, counties, and what were called, as now, in Louisiana, "parishes," which involved a different municipal administration, were found to be an embarrassment in perfecting measures that were easily disposed in the New England towns.

The reader must exercise his own ingenuity in his moralizing or speculating upon the contents of our State papers, in that one marked characteristic of them, — their avowals of a true loyalty to the King of Great Britain in spite of a defiance of all his measures, and a resistance of all his agents. Those papers approximate as nearly as was ever yet realized to a fountain which sent forth at the same place "both sweet waters and bitter." Gen. Burgoyne, who seems to have occupied some of his literary leisure here in reading such papers, wrote of them to Lord North: "It is more than probable the rebels will be as much averse to trust their cause to fair discussion as to the fair field. Distant skirmish, ambush, entrenchment, concealment, are what they depend upon in debate as in arms."

Had it been practicable for one or more members of the British ministry, at the time, to have been present at a town-meeting, somewhere in

the interior of the province, in which the array and costumes of the citizens did not give token of much dependence upon broadcloth or the tailor's skill, he would probably have found equal amusement and instruction in studying the scene. Men, roughened and hardened by toil and exposure, would have shown him original specimens of the native training, in ruggedness of independence in ideas, in natural vigor of mind, and in the power of expression and composition, using certain liberties of their own in grammar, pronunciation and spelling. And if any one should think it worth his while to digest all the voluminous patriotic papers of those days to have their pith and marrow of meaning before him, he would find that the revolt, of the New England colonies especially, proceeded upon three well-understood positions, as facts: —

First. That these colonies were not planted by the enterprise, or under the patronage of, the crown of England, nor favored and fostered by foreign sympathy or aid in their early straits; but were ventures of a stern and earnest company of self-exiled men and women, at their own private charges and risk, and that they became what they grew to be, because they were not nurslings of court and Parliament.

Second. That these colonies first drew the interest and suspicion of the mother-country, not from any regard to their own welfare, but that they might be selfishly turned to her account and aggrandizement, so that her interference with them was oppressive and tyrannical.

Third. That the royal and parliamentary sway over the people of these colonies involved the radical iniquity of holding them by more rigid terms than were imposed upon their own islanders to the obligations of Englishmen, while denied the full rights of Englishmen.

HARVARD COLLEGE AND CAMBRIDGE.

It is an interesting fact that the College, planted in the wilderness by the first company of English colonists in the Bay of Massachusetts, should have been the scene and the centre of the earliest warlike operations for the defence of the colony. From her plain halls, and from the care and training of such instructors as the resources of the time and place could furnish, had gone forth some of the foremost of the local patriots, and the jealousy of the spirit which was rising in the land had

prompted an inquisitorial investigation into the political views of her guardians and administrators. The first recognition of the College in the crisis which had now opened around it was in a petition, by the afterwards eminent engineer, then Major, Loammi Baldwin, addressed to the Provincial Congress, June 6, 1775, representing "that General Ward had approved of a proposal for taking surveys of the ground between the camp of the Massachusetts army and the posts of the British troops, and requested the loan of mathematical instruments from the apparatus of Harvard College, to be used in the execution of this service." The Congress ordered thereupon, that the Rev. President Langdon be requested to loan such instruments for the public service.

Two days before the battle in Charlestown, on the report of a committee to whom the business had been referred, the following careful provision was made by the Congress: "Whereas, it is expedient that those apartments in Harvard Hall, under the immediate charge of the Professor of Philosophy and Librarian of Harvard College, be evacuated, *Resolved*, That the library, apparatus, and other valuables of Harvard College, be removed as soon as may be to the Town of Andover," — a committee being designated "to consult with the Rev. President, the Hon. Mr. Winthrop [Professor], and the Librarian, or such of them as may be conveniently obtained, and with them to engage some suitable person or persons in said town, to transport, receive, and take the charge of the above-mentioned effects," — great care being taken in the packing, removing, and safe transfer of the articles, the charges to be borne by the public. It appears, by a resolve on June 23, that there was a delay in carrying out this arrangement. The future Count Rumford, then Benjamin Thompson, at the age of twenty-two, showed his interest in science by volunteering his aid in the removal of the College property. A quantity of the province arms was soon deposited in the library hall. The Committee of Safety had voted, May 1, "That the quartermaster-general be directed to clear that chamber in Stoughton College, occupied by S. Parsons, Jr., for a printing office for Messrs. Halls." Samuel and Ebenezer Hall, who had been printing the "Essex Gazette" in Salem, had been induced to remove their press to Cambridge, and from their office in Stoughton Hall, they issued, on the 10th of August, the first num-

ber of the "New England Chronicle, or the Weekly Gazette." The other halls of the College were soon surrendered for barracks and offices. With all the cares pressing upon the self-constituted civil authorities of the time, they did not fail to recognize the claims of such of the ejected students as were that summer entitled to their academic degrees; so they provided for calling together as many of the overseers as could be reached, to bestow them. Some of the finest and noblest private mansions in the province, with broad acres around them, were in Cambridge, and belonged to those whose sympathies were with the royal party. Happily most of these mansions still stand to-day, some of them enriched alike by memories of patriotism and by the literary fame and honors of their later occupants. For the crisis they served for military uses.

Washington, on coming to Cambridge, found a temporary home in the dwelling then appropriated to the President of the College, which is still in good preservation. The owner of the grandest of the Cambridge mansions, Major John Vassal, being a tory, had sought the protection of the British General, in Boston. His house had been for a short time occupied by Col. Glover, and also had been appropriated to the Committee of Safety. On the journal of that committee for July 8, 1775, we read the following: —

"*Whereas*, it is necessary that the house of Mr. John Vassal, ordered by Congress for the residence of His Excellency General Washington, should be immediately put in such condition as may make it convenient for that purpose, therefore, *Resolved*, that Mr. Timothy Austin be, and hereby is, empowered and authorized, to put said house in proper order for the purposes above mentioned, and that he procure such assistance and furniture as may be necessary to put said house in proper condition for the reception of His Excellency and his attendants."

In his confidential letters to Joseph Reed, Washington communicates his purposes and methods of a generous and impartial hospitality in that mansion, and also some of his embarrassments and discomfitures in the matter. The journals and letters of many distinguished men and women, which are extant, record that their writers shared those hospi-

talities, with their impressions of the courtesy and dignity of the host and hostess.

It was a pleasant coincidence that Mr. Sparks, the biographer of Washington, and the editor of his voluminous papers, should have done much of his work of almost idolatrous love for the chief, in the house and room where so many of those papers were written.

THE PROVINCIAL FORTIFICATIONS.

Some slight intrenchments of the nature of fortified lines, incident to the first steps towards the formation of a camp, had been made by the provincials when they first rallied at Cambridge. Upon the retreat from the redoubt on Breed's Hill, and from the rail fence, on June 17th, Gen. Putnam had in vain attempted to have a stand made on the higher summit of Bunker's Hill. But this point, seemingly of necessity, was yielded to the enemy. Gen. Howe continued upon the ground, which was immediately secured by strong works, commanding the Neck and the direction of the provincial camp. Only thirty or forty years ago these works, now wholly obliterated, were easily to be traced, and looked formidable in their softened outlines. Howe continued in command of the British detachment in Charlestown, till he succeeded Gage as commander-in-chief, on the recall of the latter in the following October, when Gen. Clinton was sent to Charlestown. Putnam, with a corps of volunteers, on the night following the battle, working with heroic diligence, threw up intrenchments upon the high and beautiful rounded summit known with equal appropriateness by the two names of Prospect Hill and Mount Pisgah. There were two crests to the summit, one of them since known as Spring Hill, both of which, before the end of the month, were so strengthened as to be regarded tenable against an attack, while held by nearly four thousand men. The forces at Cambridge and Charlestown were in full view from this hill. Within the last ten years the spade and the pickaxe have been levelling it for the uses of thrift and health, principally to fill the basin of Miller's river, in East Cambridge. Here, too, until quite recent years, fosse and rampart had left their traces, and the site was a favorable one for recalling the scenes of the past.

In making so instantaneous a stand on this Hill, which continued to be one of the strongest points during the whole siege, and which was regarded at first as in venturesome proximity to the enemy in Charlestown, Putnam left two smaller hills between him and Bunker's Hill, to await the disposition of subsequent events. These were Ploughed Hill, so called because it was the only one of the neighboring summits which at that time had been cultivated, which has since been known as Mount Benedict, the site of a Roman Catholic convent-school, and which also is now being rapidly levelled; and Cobble Hill, now covered by the Appleton wards and the grounds of the McLean Asylum. These two hills came in due season, when Washington had mastered his resources, to form part of his fortifications, and were intrenched and held in open defiance of the attempts made by the enemy to withstand their occupancy by a brisk bombardment by land and water. It seems to have been a matter of unexplained wonder, at the time, that the British should not have anticipated the provincials in taking possession of some of these summits, or at least have been ready to thwart every attempt at their fortification by their foe. But after Prospect Hill had been seized and strengthened it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for the British to have taken and held either Ploughed or Cobble Hill. Besides, if they had held both of them, what more or next could they have done? It required their utmost efforts to hold their ground on their two peninsulas, aided by their gun-boats. They had early found that the cost of taking a hill from the provincials was very heavy, and as such hills were lavishly scattered upon the coast and clustered in the interior, they seem to have concluded that the provincials were likely always to have the larger share of them.

The lines between the opposing forces, within their respective intrenchments, approximated so closely that the sentries exchanged news, banter and compliments, and deserters found an easy transit. Among the humors of the situation the provincials availed themselves of the opportunity to send, on the wings of a favoring breeze, or by messengers with flags, large numbers of a satirical print, — of which a fac-simile is given on an adjoining leaf, — containing an address of remonstrance to the British soldiers, and a contrast of the bills of fare, the wages, and the looked-for rewards of the respective combatants on Bunker's and Pros-

pect Hills. A small mill, a few houses, sheds, barns, and trees between the lines formed prizes contested in the later stages of the struggle.

On the same night following the battle at Charlestown a few New Hampshire troops occupied, and began to fortify, the lofty and swelling summit of Winter Hill, standing behind Prospect Hill, and midway between Cambridge and Medford. Under General Folsom the works here were so extended and formidable by the close of the month, that the hill, next to that in Roxbury to be soon referred to, became the most secure of all the provincial defences. A skirting of breastworks ran from the marsh lands near Charlestown Neck, all the way to the banks of Charles river in Cambridge, with several redoubts, half-moons, and more substantial earth-works on the elevated spots and exposed points along the course.

The most critical point to be secured and defended was that which should guard the only outlet from Boston by land, at Roxbury Neck. Here, too, the natural features of the region favored the plans of the provincials. Before the stand-pipe of the Cochituate Water Works was erected at the Highlands, in Roxbury, a stroller over the precipitous and rocky declivities of that eminence would have regarded it as a natural fortification, independently of the remains of the works still visible upon it. These works were constructed under the superintendence of Generals Thomas and Knox, and were very strong, and shot could be thrown from them into Boston. Breastworks and intrenchments on the low lands on both sides, across the roads, on Sewall's point, on the Meeting-house hill, and on the road to Dorchester, had been begun, and more or less advanced before the arrival of Washington. A redoubt had been begun on the Ten Hills Farm, to command access through the Mystic river. Colonel Gridley and his son, with such scientific and practical assistance as they could summon to aid them, gave their labor, as engineers, to these works, though with slender help from proper implements. Shot and shell were occasionally thrown from Boston while these works were in progress, but more than an offset to the mischief effected by them was made by some of the Indians and riflemen on the provincial side, who picked off the British sentries. Skirmishes at Boston Neck, shells thrown with some damage into Roxbury, and collisions between parties at the lines, seemed from the first to indicate the relations which were to

continue between the besieged and the besiegers through the lengthened issue. Behind the Roxbury works was an elevation known as Wales Hill, which was afterwards designated by Washington as a rendezvous if the enemy should break our lines at any point. Men in whale-boats were soon kept at watch near the marshes to give intelligence of any movement of the enemy by water. There was a constant apprehension that all the above works might be assailed at any hour.

Washington, on his arrival, immediately divided his attention between the new organization of the rank and file necessary to initiate the continental adoption of the army, and the examination of the fortifications. He found these works wisely and effectively begun, and he directed the strengthening and extending of them, filling exposed points, and securing safer communications between them. His scrutiny was sharp, and the severe discipline which he at once established, though it caused some fretfulness among a portion of those whose former heedlessness it rebuked, was very soon yielded to with added security to the camp.

It was not to be supposed that Gen. Howe on Bunker's Hill would be content with the narrow limits of his lines in the direction of Cambridge and Medford, and some threatening movements of his made Washington anxious about the two eminences above referred to, Ploughed Hill and Cobble Hill, which remained unoccupied. He planned a bold enterprise, and offered a strong provocation to Howe, when, on the night of Aug. 26, he ordered a working party of a thousand men, with a guard of twenty-four hundred, under General Sullivan, to occupy and intrench upon Ploughed Hill, which was directly within cannon range of Bunker's Hill, and of gun-boats in the Mystic. The feat was successfully accomplished with the loss of but two men, while a single ten-pounder on the Ten Hills battery sunk one gun-boat in the Mystic and silenced another. The enemy seemed to be preparing for an assault on the new works, and an anxious preparation was made to receive them, scanty as was the ammunition of the provincials. But it was a threat only. For a fortnight a desultory bombardment was continued, but each night and day strengthened the works, and the enemy gave over the ineffective assault upon them.

It was not until the 22d of November that the other hill was occupied, after there had been a sharp struggle at Lechmere's Point rising from

the marshes near it. The works here were made under Generals Putnam and Heath. This, which was one of the most daring enterprises in the whole series, was accomplished without meeting the slightest opposition from the enemy. A battery was a few days after planted at the Point, and in the severest weather of December, this was extended and effectively strengthened. The British violently contested the completion of the works at this Point, with water batteries. It was at the most anxious crisis of affairs in the American camp, as the term of enlistments was expiring, and new recruits came in but slowly, and there was still an alarming deficiency of powder. The new works approached most closely of any to the thickly occupied part of Boston, and with proper artillery most destructive operations might have been performed from them. From time to time such military compliments as the resources of the provincials allowed them to send passed from Cobble Hill and Lechmere Point into Boston, and from letters written there at the time it seems that they caused much consternation. These works, with the strengthening of those at Sewall's Point and Lamb's Dam on the right wing of the camp, completed the provincial defences.

RAIDS ON THE HARBOR ISLANDS.

There had been a skirmish on Grape Island, lying near the South shore of the Bay, on Sunday, May 21, between a party of the British who had gone there in sloops to remove some hay, and a party of countrymen from Weymouth, in which the latter burnt some eighty tons of hay and a barn, and took off the cattle. On the 27th of the same month, in obedience to an order of the Committee of Safety for the removal of live stock from the islands, a party of provincials went for the purpose to Hog and Noddle's Islands. They were fired upon from the vessels, and some marines put off in boats to prevent the undertaking. Of these, two were killed and two were wounded. The provincials succeeded in driving off three or four hundred live stock, and, when reinforced, disabled a British schooner which grounded, stripped her of guns and sails, with clothing and money, and then burned her while under fire from a sloop. Four of the provincials were wounded only, while of the British many were killed. Within the four following days other raids

were made by the provincials on Noddle's, Pettick's and Deer Islands, securing large numbers of sheep, cattle and horses, with hay. In the last expedition, on the night of June 2, a British barge was captured with four prisoners.

On the 12th of July a party of a hundred and thirty-six men, under Major Greaton, who had led the exploit at Deer Island, landed from whale-boats on Long Island, where the British had stored a large quantity of hay for their horses. While the party were burning this, with the house and barns, they were cannonaded from some of the vessels, one of which with barges approached the island. The party barely succeeded in escaping with the loss of one man.

Though the 20th of July was a day appointed for solemn fasting and prayer, and orders had been issued for its most devout observance, with a pause from all needless work, the troops going to worship fully armed, the temptation presented itself to a party, under Major Vose, of Heath's Regiment, starting before daylight, to land from whale-boats at Nantasket Point. Here they dismantled and burned the light-house, carrying off the apparatus, and afterwards brought away a large quantity of barley and hay. They were fired upon from the vessels, two being wounded. The party also made a raid on Point Shirley. Not satisfied with this one successful enterprise of darkening the harbor, it was determined to prevent the rebuilding of the light-house on which workmen were soon engaged. A party of three hundred men, under Major Tupper, was ordered there the last day of the month, who effected a landing, killed a dozen of the workmen, made prisoners of the rest, and destroyed the reconstructed works. Being left by the tide they were assailed by a strong force in boats, one of which was sunk by a field piece on Nantasket Point, with several of its men. The party got off with the loss of but one man, having killed and taken fifty-three of the enemy. The Major and his party received the next day the special thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, in general orders, for their gallantry. The Admiral of the fleet announced the destruction of the lights in the harbor and at Cape Ann. No single act of the provincials caused more chagrin to the enemy than this. When reported in London it was made the theme for most biting sarcasm. They were soon to hear of yet more daring and humiliating success of the provincials on the water, in the

capture of store-vessels laden down with all the muniments and supplies of war, without a gun on their decks. On Sept. 27 two hundred men, under Major Tupper, landed from whale-boats on Governor's Island, burned a small vessel ready for launching, and brought off cattle and horses with full impunity.

In connection with these bold ventures of the provincials, to secure their own property on the harbor islands, it is amusing to read the secret disclosures which Burgoyne made at the time in a private letter to Lord George Germaine, dated Boston, Aug. 20, 1775. He wrote about Graves: —

"It may be asked in England, what is the Admiral doing?

"I wish I were able to answer that question satisfactorily; but I can only say what he is *not* doing.

"That he is *not* supplying us with sheep and oxen, the dinners of the best of us bear meagre testimony; the state of our hospitals bears a more melancholy one.

"He is *not* defending his own flocks and herds; for the enemy have repeatedly plundered his own islands."

"He is *not* defending the other islands in the harbor; for the enemy, in force, landed from a great number of boats, and burned the light-house at noonday (having first killed and taken the party of marines which was posted there) almost under the guns of two or three men-of-war.

"He is *not* employing his ships to keep up communication and intelligence with the king's servants and friends at the different parts of the continent; for I do not believe General Gage has received a letter from any correspondent out of Boston these six weeks.

"He is intent upon greater objects, you will think, supporting in the great points the dignity of the British flag, — and where a number of boats have been built for the enemy, privateers fitted out, prizes carried in, the king's armed vessels sunk, the crews made prisoners, the officers killed, — he is doubtless enforcing instant restitution and reparation by the voice of his cannon, and laying the towns in ashes that refuse his terms. Alas! he is not. British thunder is diverted or controlled by pitiful attentions and mere Quaker-like scruples; and under such influences, insult and impunity, like righteousness and peace, have kissed each other."

The King had written to Lord North, on July 28, "I do think the Admiral's removal as necessary, if what is reported is founded, as the mild General's" [Gage].

INCIDENTS IN THE PROVINCIAL CAMP.

It was a remarkable coincidence that while a local conflict, arising from a controversy between the mother-country and one of her provinces, was about to transpire on the heights of Charlestown, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia should have adopted measures for nationalizing that controversy, and for making the provincial forces the nucleus of a continental army. It was a great step for the continental delegates from Massachusetts and the other New England provinces to have secured that result. Some of the most curious details of the debates and business, and of the workings of secret influences, at Philadelphia, which have come to light, reveal to us with what astuteness and sagacity the Massachusetts delegates managed to keep their special aims and wishes in abeyance, that they might not appear to force their local interests and partialities upon the action of their Southern associates. The peculiar traits and views of the leaders and the people of this region were not altogether attractive to the members of the Congress from other sections, and it was but shrewd calculation on the part of the two Adamses, Hancock, and others, to allow the common feeling, which they desired, to grow naturally without being forced through their obtrusion of it. If there was to be a continental adoption of a provincial army, it must have a Southern commander. Happily Providence and Virginia came to the help of policy in furnishing one. How General Ward accepted the necessity which superseded him in his office calls for no discussion here. There was no expression or manifestation of any other feelings than those of delight and welcome, with warm-hearted and respectful addresses to Washington, when he appeared on the scene. The extensive and level space of Cambridge Common displayed before his eyes the material in men and accoutrements, such as they were, on which his exacting task began.

We have a very lively description of the camp, as it appeared immediately after Washington had taken command, from the pen of the Rev. Wm. Emerson, of Concord, a chaplain of the army: —

"There is great overturning in the camp as to order and regularity. New lords, new laws. The Generals Washington and Lee are upon the lines

every day. New orders from His Excellency are read to the respective regiments every morning after prayers. The strictest government is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place and keep in it, or be tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes according to his crime. Thousands are at work every day from four till eleven o'clock in the morning. It is surprising how much work has been done. The lines are extended almost from Cambridge to Mystic river, so that very soon it will be morally impossible for the enemy to get between the works, except in one place, which is supposed to be left purposely unfortified to entice the enemy out of their fortresses. Who would have thought twelve months past that all Cambridge and Charlestown would be covered over with American camps, and cut up into forts and intrenchments, and all the lands, fields, orchards, laid common, cattle feeding in the choicest mowing-land, whole fields of corn eaten down to the ground, and large parks of well-regulated locusts cut down for firewood and other public uses. This, I must say, looks a little melancholy.

"My quarters are at the foot of the famous Prospect Hill, where such great preparations are made for the reception of the enemy. It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form as the owners are in their dress; and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards and some of sailcloth; some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone and turf, brick or brush; some are thrown up in a hurry; others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode Islanders, who are furnished with tent-equipage and everything in the most exact English style. However, I think this great variety is rather a beauty than a blemish in the army."— (*Sparks' Washington.*)

CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERALS LEE AND BURGOYNE.

A curious episode, which must have furnished a momentary excitement in the camp, occurred at this time. The impulsive and unstable Charles Lee, who had been commissioned as a Major General by the Congress, had served under Burgoyne as a British officer in Portugal. When Lee, before he had been commissioned, heard of the arrival of Burgoyne in Boston, he addressed him from Philadelphia, on June 7th, a letter which did not reach him until a month afterwards. He wrote in strong

terms of affection and respect, yet as to one "seduced into an impious and nefarious service, by the artifice of a wicked and insidious court and cabinet," whose "wickedness and treachery he has himself experienced" in his former military relations. He expresses gratification that, as he had learned, Burgoyne had come here, not of his own seeking, but on the King's positive command, but assures him that his errand is mean and unrighteous, and will prove a failure, as the colonies will never yield to the usurpation and tyranny of the court. He protests against the silly confidence of the British that the provincials are cowards and will not fight. He is amazed also that his loved and revered friend, Gen. Howe, should engage in such a cause. Yet, whatever "the accursed misrulers" shall dictate, Burgoyne shall have his personal affection.

By permission of his superior, Burgoyne replied to this letter on July 8th, soon after it came to his hands, addressing Lee in friendly and familiar terms, trying to offset his pleadings, and then proposing to meet him for an interview, and a discussion, at Brown's house on the Neck, with respective covenants and parole of honor for the safe return of both parties. Lee submitted Burgoyne's letter to the Provincial Congress, suggesting that if the interview should be allowed, they would designate a gentleman of their body to be a witness of it with him. Mr. Elbridge Gerry was appointed for that purpose, and the Congress addressed a hesitating letter to Burgoyne informing him of the appointment. But here the matter was arrested. The Congress did not approve of the proposed meeting. Without mentioning this fact, Lee addressed Burgoyne a short note from Cambridge, July 11th, in which he says, that as they both have unalterably formed their convictions, an interview would only create jealousies and suspicions. He closes thus: "I must, therefore, defer the happiness of embracing a man whom I most sincerely love, until the subversion of the present tyrannical ministry and system, which I am persuaded must be in a few months, as I know Great Britain cannot stand the contest."

This correspondence was made public and freely commented upon at the time, on both sides of the water. But there has come to light this year a confidential paper, which adds an amusing and startling ingredient to it. It is a letter of Burgoyne's to Lord North, inclosing the correspondence with Lee. The latter had spoken of the minister as "the

felonious North." As his eye would have to fall on this epithet, Burgoyne apologizes by writing that he had intended to have sent only extracts, "leaving out those virulent apostrophes which stand like oaths at Billingsgate, for expletives when reason fails" — but as the whole correspondence has been printed, his caution would not avail. He writes very differently *about* Lee, from the tone and style in which he had written *to* him. His chief object had been to have obtained an interview with Lee, in which he would "have cut him short in that paltry jargon of invective" against ministers, and pressed him with the fallacy and frenzy of his notions. Burgoyne proceeds: "I would then have endeavored to touch his pride, his interest, and his ambition. I know the ruling passion of Lee's mind to be avarice; the foundation of his apostasy I believe to be resentment." Working from that interpretation and estimate of Lee's character, Burgoyne goes on to explain to the minister the method by which he was fully confident he could have won over the American general to his previous service under the king. He thought it probable that "though Lee would have started at a direct bribe, he might have caught at an overture of changing his party to gratify his interest, provided any salvo were suggested for his integrity, — a point in which many a man fancies he possesses more than he really does. It is not impossible that the example of General Monk might have presented itself to his imagination," etc., etc. If Lee could be thus "secretly bought over, the services he might do are great; and very great, I confess, they ought to be to atone for his offences." Burgoyne offers this precious plea to the minister to palliate his having used mild and friendly terms in writing to a traitor whose life was forfeited. It seems, too, that Lee had written still another letter to Burgoyne, of which extracts were enclosed to Lord North, though neither the original nor these are forthcoming. From the comments upon it, it appears that Lee had in it expressed his alarm that the British intended to employ Indian allies, and also his positive knowledge "that France and Spain were ready to accept the colonies."

Burgoyne did not restrict his estimate of venality to Lee. For in another confidential letter he writes, "There is hardly a leading man among the rebels, in council or in the field, but at a proper time, and by proper management, might have been bought." He makes an exception, how-

ever, for either John or Sam. Adams, whom he confuses together, though what he writes was equally true of both of them. "I believe Adams to be as great a conspirator as ever subverted a State. Be assured, my lord, this man soars too high to be allured by any offer Great Britain can make to himself or to his country. America, if his counsels continue in force, must be subdued or relinquished. She will not be reconciled."

A PRELIMINARY TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

One year before the Continental Congress took the long-delayed and decisive step of declaring Independence, it preceded the measure by what it regarded under the circumstances as equally decisive, though to us it seems merely temporizing, the issuing, on July 6, 1775, a declaration of the reasons for taking up arms. The declaration represented this as the alternative of "unconditional submission to irritated ministers." They review the wrongs they have suffered, and the outrages which have been inflicted upon the colonies; refuse to make terms separately; insist upon being treated as a united body; resolve to die free men rather than slaves; and yet they still disavow a "design of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States."

A solemn occasion was made in the camp for publishing this paper. The Declaration was read on Cambridge Common on July 15th, by President Langdon, in presence of the General, his officers, and a mass of people, and was received with enthusiastic responses. It was also read to the soldiers under Putnam, on Prospect Hill, on the 18th; and, after a solemn address and prayer by the Chaplain, Mr. Leonard, at Putnam's word the soldiers cheered and shouted their approval. A cannon was discharged, and Putnam displayed a Connecticut flag, with its motto, *Qui Transtulit Sustinet;* "The Philistines on Bunker's Hill," being dismayed by this outburst of "the Israelites."

A stir was made in the camp on Sept. 13th, by the fitting out of an expedition, under Arnold, for Quebec.

ARRIVAL AND CONFERENCE OF A COMMITTEE FROM CONGRESS.

The Commander was cheered by the arrival at the camp, on October 15th, of a committee specially appointed for the purpose by the body at Philadelphia, with which his only previous channel of intercourse had been by letters. Dr. Franklin, Lynch, of Carolina, and Harrison of Virginia, came as a committee on a reconstruction of the army. Official representatives from this and the other N. E. provinces were present. Amicable and earnest discussion resulted in measures which were highly encouraging to the Commander, and which rallied his hopefulness. Still, with the winter approaching, he was anxious to take some effective action against the besieged enemy. He retained the delegates till the 24th, and wished their advice on a measure which he had proposed to a Council of War as to an assault on Boston by bombardment. His officers in council, admitting that such an attempt was desirable, thought it impracticable. The Committee from Congress advised that the project be referred to the decision of that body. It was not till two months afterwards that Congress gave Washington authority to destroy the capital. While he was on this visit to the camp Franklin made over to a Committee of the Massachusetts Assembly the sum of £100, which had been sent to him by sympathizers in England, to relieve the wounded, widows and children, sufferers by the battle at Lexington. After the formal convention at the camp was closed, the committee remained for friendly discussion on many important matters. They revised the articles of war, made suggestions to the Congress, proposed regulations about prizes and provisions captured at sea, the exchange of prisoners, and the employment of Indians, and so defining and conforming the authority of the Commander as greatly to strengthen and encourage him. Congress confirmed all their action.

In October, intelligence of a most irritating and alarming character was received in the camp, of the burning, by Lieut. Mowatt, on the 18th, of 500 houses, and 14 vessels, at Falmouth, now Portland, Me. Washington was earnestly entreated, by the people of the sea-board towns, who were constantly in dread of similar outrages from the British fleet, to send detachments from the army for their protection. He replied

with strong expressions of sympathy, but he could not by compliance reduce his own insufficient forces.

DR. BENJAMIN CHURCH CHARGED WITH TREACHERY.

This gentleman, who was a graduate of Harvard, a poet, a prominent patriot with pen and tongue, a member of the Provincial Congress, and who, when sent on a mission to the Continental Congress, had obtained the appointment of Surgeon-General of the Army, and Military Director of Hospitals, came under suspicion from being detected, about the first of October, in correspondence with a brother-in-law in Boston, who was a tory. His medium was a woman, and a letter of his was intercepted, written in cipher, and with some difficulty interpreted. The letter is certainly ambiguous in its contents, but the circumstances justified his arrest and confinement. He was allowed a full hearing at his examination before the General Court, at Watertown, on the charge of communicating information to the enemy. His ingenious but evasive plea in his defence was not satisfactory, and he was expelled from the House. Washington laid the case before the Continental Congress, which sentenced him to be confined in a jail in Connecticut, without pen, ink, or paper, or privilege of private intercourse. On the score of failing health he obtained relaxation in the terms, and a change of the place of his duress, and finally permission to sail for the West Indies. The vessel in which he took passage was never heard of.

A VISITOR TO THE CAMP.

We have an interesting account of a visit to the camp in the Life of Jeremy Belknap, a minister in Dover, N. H., afterwards of Boston, the historian of New Hampshire, and a principal founder of the Mass. Historical Society. He was a native of Boston, and the tidings of the affair at Lexington reaching him soon after its occurrence, he hurried hither, leaving his parish to excuse his absence from his pulpit on Sunday, while he took filial care for his parents in the town. He remained at Cambridge more than a week, in April, before he could bring about an interview with them and their removal. In the interval

he wrote to his wife, "Don't let my gun and ammunition get out of the house, if you can help it." The state of his health compelled him to decline the appointment as chaplain of the camp to the New Hampshire troops, but, agreeing to take his turn in preaching there to the soldiers, he visited the camp for that purpose in October. In the discharge of his clerical offices there he was given to understand "that it was offensive to pray for the king," though the Congress had not yet renounced allegiance to him as "our rightful sovereign." Under Oct. 20th, he writes: —

"I prayed with Gen. Thomas' regiment, quartered at Roxbury, and afterwards visited the lines in company with an officer of the picquet guard. Nothing struck me with more horror than the present condition of Roxbury; that once busy, crowded street is now occupied only by a picquet guard, The houses are deserted, the windows are taken out, and many shot-holes are visible; some have been burnt, and others pulled down to make room for the fortifications. A wall of earth is carried across the street to Williams' old house, where there is a formidable fort mounted with cannon. The lower line is just below where the George Tavern stood; a row of trees, root and branch, lies across the road there, and the breastwork extends to Lamb's Dam, which form a part thereof. I went round the whole, and was so near the enemy as to see them (though it was foggy and rainy) relieve their sentries, which they do every hour. Their outmost sentries are posted at the chimneys of Brown's house." [The rebels had burned this house.]

"After dining with General Ward, I returned to Cambridge; in the evening visited and conversed with General Putnam. Ward appears to be a calm, cool, thoughtful man; Putnam, a rough, fiery genius.

"Oct. 21st. — Detained at Cambridge all day by the rain. Met General Sullivan, who told me he was ordered to Portsmouth on the report of the destruction of Falmouth. Dined, by invitation, with Mr. Mifflin, Quartermaster-General. The company present were Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch and Colonel Harrison (a committee from the Congress), General Lee, etc. General Lee is a perfect original, a good scholar, and an odd genius, full of fire and passion, and but little good manners; a great sloven, wretchedly profane, and a great admirer of dogs, of which he had two at dinner with him, etc. General Washington was to have been at this dinner, but the weather prevented. He is said to be a very amiable gentleman, cool, sensible and placid, and a resolute soldier.

"Oct. 22d. — Preached all day in the meeting-house. After meeting I was

again told by the chaplain that it was disagreeable to the generals to pray for the king. I answered that the same authority which appointed the generals had ordered the king to be prayed for at the late Continental Fast; and, till that was revoked, I should think it my duty to do it. Dr. Appleton [the minister of the church in Cambridge] prayed in the afternoon, and mentioned the king with much affection. It is too assuming in the generals to find fault with it.

"Oct. 23d. — Mr. Miflin assured me there was no design to make an assault upon Boston very soon, and that it would not be done unless it was found that nothing else could be done. Flat-bottomed boats are preparing which will carry sixty or seventy men at once. Barracks are also building for the army's winter quarters. The army is healthy, and well supplied. I visited the works at Prospect Hill. The weather being hazy I had not so good a view as I should wish; but I could see the enemy's lines and buildings at Bunker Hill, and the desolation at Charlestown. Visited also the works at Ploughed Hill and Winter Hill, and set out on my return, etc.

"Oct. 24th. — Got home [to Dover] and found the town full of Portsmouth people, who have been moving with their effects, ever since the destruction of Falmouth, apprehending the same fate."

A CHARACTERISTIC ORDER IN THE CAMP BY WASHINGTON.

The history and traditions of colonial and provincial life in Boston give us many illustrations of the zeal and animosity of the people exhibited against everything peculiarly identified with the claims and observances of the Roman Catholic Church. The anniversary associated with the famous Gunpowder Plot was an occasion of manifestation, parade and satirical shows in Boston which, by frequent recurrence, had made the day one of almost obligatory recognition. Important issues were now suspended upon the hopes and plans connected with movements designed to bring Canada into sympathy with the revolting colonies. The British Ministry, by the famous Quebec Bill, had adroitly schemed to secure the allegiance of Roman Catholic Canada, and it was not for us to alienate it by any insult to its faith. The following order was issued in the Provincial Camp for Nov. 5th: —

"As the Commander-in-Chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and

soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting, and have really obtained, the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause, the defence of the general liberty of America. At such a juncture and in such circumstances to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are so much indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada."

WINTER IN THE CAMP.

The unwearied forethought and oversight of the Commander, setting before him all the details and conditions of his arduous task, were engaged in about equal measurements in trying to avert the necessity of keeping his forces inactive through the winter, and in preparing for that season if compelled to remain on the ground. The Provincial and the Continental Congresses gave him the help of their most earnest wishes and intents, though not always resulting in prompt efficiency.

He had reason to believe that even if the enemy made no offensive demonstrations, beyond an occasional cannonade, through the winter, strong reinforcements would join them in the spring, and therefore he decided that the sooner he could strike a strong blow the better. Besides, the close of the year would terminate the period of enlistment of the larger portion of the men whom, by incessant and rigid discipline, he had been preparing for soldierly work, and turn in upon the camp, when it was most weakened, a body of raw recruits. The militia of the neighboring towns, summoned for a few days to meet special emergencies, was his only resource. In councils with his officers he urged his own views as to the necessity of an assault on the enemy before reinforcements should arrive, and he freely avowed his assurance that, though any such enterprise would be extremely hazardous, yet, if his men would face the risk courageously, it had a fair chance of success. The autumn and early part of the winter were comparatively mild, and his hopes of seeing the bay tightly locked in ice — that the temptation to use it as a bridge to Boston might induce his officers to approve his plan — were disappointed. But the uncertainty of his schemes in this

direction could not offset the certainty that he must be prepared to keep his men on the ground through a New England winter, in whatever shape it might come. The men were of a sort and training and habit of life that disposed and fitted them to do the best possible for themselves in this matter. They were content with plain fare, and there was no lack of it. They showed their ingenuity in the construction of huts and shanties of every conceivable pattern. After experiencing some difficulty in providing a sufficient quantity of firewood the Provincial Congress made a levy on the towns to a considerable distance from the camp, and it was furnished in abundance. The time-honored Thanksgiving festival was heartily enjoyed on November 23d. Orders had been issued to Gen. Sullivan, on the seventh of the month, to go to the protection of Portsmouth against the fate which had been visited upon Falmouth. On Nov. 9th, about four hundred of the enemy, in boats from Boston, made a landing at high water on Lechmere's Point, which was thus made an island, to plunder the stock there. They were protected by a frigate, and by floating batteries. The alarm drew a detachment of the provincials, who could reach the scene only by fording, and the result was a skirmish with a loss of two men on each side. The enemy carried off some cows. The Point was, as stated above, strongly fortified by the Provincials on the next month.

On the opening of the new year Washington received the desired allowance of the Continental Congress to destroy Boston, if he found it advisable to do so, and President Hancock, in transmitting the message, endorsed it with his full approbation, though he would have been, perhaps, the largest sufferer. The monthly expenses of Washington's army were estimated by him, at the end of the year, at $275,000.

The union flag had been flung to the breeze with hearty cheering, on the new year. Admiral Schuldam, who had just come into the harbor to displace Graves, brought with him an edition of the king's last speech in opening Parliament, full of the spirit of defiance and resolution to crush a "rebellious war, manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire." The reading of it in the camp was received with shouts and jeers. A bold stroke was made on the evening of Jan. 8th, by a party under Major Knowlton, to burn some houses then left on Charlestown Neck. It was, in a degree, successful, and caused a panic in Boston.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

As in all cases of alienation, strife and resistance on the part of any considerable portion of subjects or citizens in their relations with an established government, when what begins as sedition and rebellion waits the issue of events to decide whether it shall be crushed, or result in successful and accomplished revolution; so in the struggle which is here rehearsed, one of the most critical questions opened in its earliest stage was the treatment and disposition to be made of those persons who became obnoxious to, or were first seized in actual armed hostility to authority. There was no unusual course adopted, no peculiar severity exercised by the British commander here in treating the rebels who first fell into his hands as such, unless we recognize as of that character the arrogance and supercilious disdain, the assumption, contempt and conceit of an easy triumph over a despicable enemy, which marked the whole official conduct of the royalists in their dealings with the provincials. Of course, the military titles borne by the rebel officers could not be, even in courtesy, allowed in intercourse with them, and it was assumed that no distinction would be made between them and the soldiers. As in all such cases, too, consideration, tolerance, and all the measures that gradually recognized the pending of an issue to which there was conceivably more than one result, were won by the rebels, and yielded on the royal side, only as the former proved that they were in earnest, and were not to be trifled with. The security of the revolting party in every such case is to possess themselves, as soon as possible, of the means and materials for retaliation. It came to be a matter of regret with Gage, and his lieutenants, that the most able and obnoxious leaders of the rebels had not been seized according to the purposes of the ministry, and sent to England for trial as traitors. They would probably even then have escaped with their lives, and merely been held as pledges of the orderly conduct of their fellow-subjects, as when Henry Laurens, bearing despatches from the rebel Congress to Holland, was intercepted on the high seas, and confined in the Tower of London. By Gage's proclamation of June 12th, which it now appears was written for him by the pen of Burgoyne, Hancock and Samuel Adams were exempted from the pardon offered to all who would then avail them-

selves of it by submitting to the royal governor. Not to be outdone in the matter of grace, though their list of the proscribed was a longer one, the Provincial Congress, on June 16th, by proclamation, offered a full and free pardon to soldiers, tories, and all sorts "of public offenders against the rights and liberties of this country, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon," the General, the Admiral, all the Mandamus Counsellors who had not resigned, and all not belonging to the royal army or navy, who had aided in the recent "robberies and murders." The Continental Congress had given attention to the matter of retaliation in the seizure of any of the patriot party, and the Committee of Safety had advised the Provincial Congress, on July 6th, "to recommend to the grand American Congress that every crown officer within the united colonies be immediately seized and held in safe custody until our friends, who have been seized by Gen. Gage, are set at liberty, and fully recompensed for their loss and imprisonment."

These "friends seized by Gage" were some prominent offenders in Boston, whom he had committed to the jail. James Lovell and John Leach were here confined, with rough treatment, sixty-five days each, on the charge of being spies; Peter Edes and William Starr, seventy-five days each, for concealing fire-arms, and John Gill, as a printer of seditious matter. Besides these were the prisoners, about a score, taken at Bunker Hill. It was alleged that the wounded among these were neglected or brutally treated. In a confidential letter of Burgoyne to Lord Rochfort, before quoted, he wrote, "My advice to General Gage has been to treat the prisoners taken in the late action, most of whom are wounded, with all possible kindness, and to dismiss them without terms. 'You have been deluded; return to your homes in peace; it is your duty to God and your country to undeceive your neighbors.' I have had opportunities to sound the minds of these people. Most of them are men of good understanding, but of much prejudice, and still more credulity; they are yet ignorant of their fate, and some of them expect, when they recover, to be hanged." It was indeed to that fate, as culprits and rioters, that Gen. Gage tried to attract the fears of such as fell into his hands. Washington, on Aug. 11, addressed a letter to the General, remonstrating against his thus treating prisoners of war as felons, and threatening full retaliation to

obnoxious persons in his hands who had till then been forbearingly dealt by. In this letter Gage is described as acting under "ministers." Gage again used the pen of Burgoyne for a reply, addressed to "George Washington, Esq." Burgoyne gives us the letter as he wrote it, and it appears that Gage, in copying it, added to it the following sentence: "Till I read your insinuations in regard to ministers, I conceived that I had acted under the king," etc. True to his threat, Washington gave orders that some obnoxious persons and prisoners in his hands should be confined in common jails; but for some reason the severity was relaxed. He had occasion to write again to Gage on the same subject, Aug. 20th, and also on Dec. 18th to Gen. Howe, on the brutal treatment of Ethan Allen. This officer was put in irons, carried to England, then shifted between New York and Halifax, at which last place Mr. Lovell was carried; and their treatment was the subject of much correspondence. But cartels and exchanges soon disposed of the whole matter.

BURGOYNE ON THE SITUATION IN BOSTON.

Another confidential letter from Gen. Burgoyne to Lord Rochfort, written in the summer of 1775, and which has been first made public this year, contains some very interesting disclosures. The expedition to which the General refers, as suggested in his previous letter, was an element of a scheme devised by him in answer to a supposed question, whether nothing could be done in the campaign of that year? His scheme was, that the royal forces should seize and occupy Dorchester Heights, and that, leaving for the retention and defence of the three peninsulas, Charlestown, Boston and Dorchester, one thousand men for each, the remainder of the army — possibly two thousand — should be embarked to cruise along the coast, threatening the sea-board, dividing the provincials, using efforts of policy and strategy to thwart the plans of the rebels and to sow alienation between the provinces. "I begin now to despair of the expedition of which I expressed promising hopes in my last. Enterprise is not ours. Inertness, or what is equal to it, attention to small objects, counteracts or procrastinates undertakings when no visible objection lies to them. But I take with great pleasure this opportunity to do justice to Mr. Gage; and the Admiral must

take to himself, and account for, a great share of our inactivity, our disgrace and our distress.

"I will not undertake a task so useless at present, and so repugnant to my disposition as to particularize instances of these misfortunes, but the glaring facts are not to be concealed: that many vessels have been taken, officers killed, men made prisoners; that large numbers of swift boats, called whale-boats, have been supplied to the enemy at well-known towns on the coast, in which boats they have insulted and plundered islands immediately under the protection of our ships, and at noonday landed in force and set fire to the light-house, almost under the guns of two or three men-of-war. I am not seaman enough to say that a vigilant and daring enemy, excellent boatmen, and knowing perfectly how to time winds, tides and currents, might not possibly effect these exploits in spite of any diligence on the other side; but I know not where an excuse will be found for not enforcing instant restitution and reparation where boats have been furnished, privateers fitted out, prizes carried in, or provisions refused. And this omission is the more extraordinary, because, before the proclamation of martial law, the Admiral breathed nothing but impatience and flame; and since that I know General Gage has urged him in vain to put his former schemes into execution.

"It would be invidious to proceed. I have said enough, when compared with the observations I had the honor to transmit by the *Cerberus*, to prevent your lordship forming any very sanguine expectations of this campaign. I am afraid it will require a good deal more activity than we have yet shown, to prevent famine in the town, if not in the army, when winter approaches.

"General Gage appears to be not disinclined to an idea of evacuating Boston, if he can make himself master of New York, and of taking up his winter-quarters there; and there is much solid reasoning in favor of it. The post, in a military point of view, is much more important, and more proper to begin the operations of next campaign. In political consideration, yet more might be said for it, and in regard to general supply the neighborhood of Long Island, and other adjacent islands, would afford some assistance that we want here. But on the other hand, to quit hold entirely of Massachusetts, at least before solid footing was obtained elsewhere, requires very mature reflection; I would not be

understood to give my opinion. The execution of the measure also would demand great foresight, secrecy, and other management. The inhabitants, friends of Government, must not be left behind. They would require a vast quantity of shipping. The merchandise in the town, great part of which belongs to absentees, and ought to be confiscated, amounts, I am told, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds. That deposit ought surely to be detained; to preserve it to the proprietors, if innocent; to the public, where these should be guilty; and from the use of the enemy in both cases. I think it possible General Gage may not have mentioned this circumstance to Government; and I submit it to your lordship as one of great importance, and upon which I hope orders will be sent from home; for I foresee a man of the General's scrupulous integrity (a part of his character that entitles him to the greatest honor) may be induced rather to relinquish or burn warehouses upon an exigency, than subject his reputation to the breath of slander by laying his finger upon private property." . . . "But whether the scheme of leaving Boston takes place in the whole, in part, or not at all, be assured, my lord, the army will be in danger of perishing with hunger and cold the ensuing winter, if the proper departments here do not fully represent, and the departments at home fully believe, the impossibility of any solid supply of any article whatsoever except from Britain or Ireland. At present the sick and wounded are without broth for want of fresh provisions, and the poor ensign cannot draw for his pay at less than fifteen per cent. discount."

The very interesting matter from the pen of Gen. Burgoyne is drawn from a volume bearing the following title: "Political and Military Episodes in the latter half of the 18th Century. Derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist. By Edward Barrington De Fonblanque. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876."

DESTRUCTION OF "LIBERTY-TREE."

One act of pure spitefulness on the part of the British soldiers, during their occupancy of Boston, tended to concentrate the patriotic attach-

ment which the people had for ten years felt for a conspicuous object associated with the spirit of Liberty. This was the wanton destruction, with insulting demonstrations, of the famous Liberty-Tree.

That part of Washington street, then called Orange street, on the corner of the present Essex street — then Auchmuty's lane — was known as Hanover square, opposite the corner of Frog lane, now Boylston street, the site of the Market building. On the square stood a substantial wooden house, with gables, and two large chimneys, in the yard of which was a lofty and spreading elm-tree, one of a cluster near the square. This was Liberty-Tree. Its designation, and what we may call its inauguration, date from the night of Aug. 13, 1765. A lively class of the citizens of Boston had taken the title of "Sons of Liberty," an appellation offered for their use by their friend Col. Barré, in his glorious speech on their side in the House of Commons. On the evening just named, an effigy of Andrew Oliver, Secretary of the Province, and who was to be the distributor of the odious stamps, was suspended from a branch of the tree, accompanied by a figure of the devil peeping out of a boot, and holding the Stamp Act in his hand, with other satirical emblems, — a very hard pun upon his Majesty's hated Scotch adviser, the Earl of Bute. On the next morning, as a great crowd collected around, some of the neighbors attempted to remove the decorations, but were warned to desist. The sheriff was ordered by the Lieut.-Governor, as Chief Justice, to take them down; but, on viewing the scene, and its conditions, he pronounced the attempt dangerous.

It would appear that this ingenious device for expressing contempt and hostility to the Earl of Bute was not original on this side of the water. A Boston paper of Aug. 20, 1763, contains the following: —

"About two miles from Honiton there was suspended on an apple-tree, that grew over the road, a figure, as big as life, dressed in Scotch plaid, with something to resemble a ribbon over one shoulder, and, on a painted board, affixed to the tree, were these lines: —

"'Behold the man who made the yoke,
Which doth Old England's sons provoke;
And now he hangs upon a tree,
An emblem of our liberty.

" 'Now, Britons, all join heart and hand,
His sly-schemed project to withstand,
That all our sons, as well as we,
May have our "Cider go Scot free."

" 'Liberty, Property, and No Excise.' "

The effigy was taken down on the night of the 14th, and borne by a mob to Oliver's residence on Fort Hill, where it was burnt, driving him and his family from his house, which they defaced, and stoning the Lieut. Governor and Sheriff who sought to disperse them. On the 26th of the month the rioters did the same violent and destructive acts upon the dwellings of Mr. Story, of the Admiralty, of Mr. Hallowell, of the Customs, and of the Chief Justice, Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson.

Other effigies were hung on the tree, Nov. 1, 1765, the day when the Stamp Act was to take effect, amid mournful and riotous demonstrations, muffled bells tolling, flags at half-mast, inflammatory handbills and wandering mobs. The effigies were twice taken down and carried in procession, restored, hung on the gallows-tree on the Neck, and at night destroyed with cheers.

Under the apprehension that Mr. Oliver would still attempt to dispose of the stamps, he was summoned, on Nov. 16, to appear at the tree on the next day, "to make a public resignation." He asked that the ceremony might transpire at the Town House. But, no. He must come to the tree. There, with a company of two thousand, including the selectmen, merchants and best citizens, he subscribed a declaration attested by Richard Dana, Justice of the Peace. This precious paper is now in the possession of the venerable R. H. Dana, grandson of the Justice. Oliver also made a speech, expressing his "utter detestation of the Stamp Act."

Henceforward the tree became emblematic, and, after a sort, sacred. By a vote of the Sons of Liberty, on February 14, 1766, it was "trimmed after the best manner," by some carpenters, under the direction of a skilful gentleman.

On the 19th of May, in celebration of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, the tree was the centre of merry-making and festivity, with illuminations and fireworks, and bells ringing. The tree was hung with garlands

and colors, and a pole rising in the centre of it, by its new significance, doubtless reconciled what remained in the town of the old Puritan traditional dislike of poles dressed in May time. Governor Hancock welcomed the people to a pipe of Madeira on the Common, where, also at night, was raised a pyramid of two hundred and eighty lamps. On the evening of the next day there was a festival of lanterns, borne by immense crowds of men and boys, with all sorts and devices of illuminations around the tree; and, to add to the general joy, a collection was taken up for funds for discharging all who were in prison for debt, by a general jail delivery, that they, too, might share in the glad merriment. The heart of Boston was warm, though its will was rebellious. Engravings are extant of a four-sided obelisk, with its ornaments and inscriptions, which was set under Liberty-Tree at this time. The sides bore rude portraits of George III. and Queen Charlotte, of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of York, Gen. Conway, Lord Townshend, Col. Barré, Wm. Pitt, Lord Dartmouth, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, John Wilkes, Alderman Beckford, Lord Camden, etc., with an extraordinary variety of devices and emblematic conceits, piteous, boastful, sarcastic and devout, with ten lines of patriotic rhymes, defiant or mournful, on each side. Paul Revere contributed his genius to this remarkable piece of symbolism. When, on September 11, the news arrived of a change of ministry, a copper plate $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ was strongly nailed to the tree, inscribed, "The Tree of Liberty, Aug. 14, 1765." The fame which the tree had acquired in England is shown by the curious fact that about the time of the catastrophe to be presently related, there died, at Backway, near Cambridge, England, a gentleman named Philip Billes, Esq., who left to two gentlemen, not relatives, his considerable fortune, on condition that they would faithfully execute his will by burying his body under the shadow of Liberty-Tree in Boston, New England. This statement appears in the "Boston Evening Gazette," Aug. 22, 1774, copied from an English publication of June 3. The tree must be considered as having put forth and cast its leaves through successive seasons in sympathy with the patriots who had attached to it their love and veneration. It was because of what it thus symbolized to them that it was hateful to the British soldiers, who doomed it to destruction. On August 4th a party of them, led on by a tory lacquey,

Job Williams, cut it down and burned it. A soldier who was lopping off one of its branches fell with it and was instantly killed.

Lafayette said, in a speech which he made during his visit to Boston, in 1824, "The world should never forget the spot where once stood Liberty-Tree, so famous in your annals."

THE BESIEGED IN BOSTON.

All accounts agree in representing the condition of the army and the people in the town, during the summer months, as involving general distress, with discontent and apprehension. The ministry in England were perplexed as to whether they should give positive instructions to their General, or leave him to his own judgment; and he was evidently distracted in that judgment, unable to leave Boston, and unwilling to remain in it. Happily for him he was to be relieved of further responsibility, as despatches received in September recalled him, nominally to give information and advice. When he left he expected to return here. Before his departure he issued several proclamations.

The following has interest* : —

"A COMMISSION BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE HON. THOMAS GAGE, CAPT. GENERAL, GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF, &c., &c.

To CREAN BRUSH, *Esquire:* —

"*Whereas*, there are large Quantities of Goods, Wares and Merchandize, Chattels and Effects, of considerable Value, left in the Town of Boston, by Persons who have thought proper to depart therefrom, which are lodged in Dwelling-houses, and in Shops, and Store-houses, adjoining to, or making Part of Dwelling-houses;

* In the cabinet of the Mass. Historical Society is preserved in a large volume a series of Proclamations by the several Royal Governors, with broadsides, fly-leaves and miscellaneous printed papers, of much historic value. I am indebted to this source for the documents here copied.

"And, *Whereas*, there is great Reason to apprehend, and the Inhabitants have expressed some Fears concerning the Safety of such Goods, especially as great Part of the Houses will necessarily be occupied by His Majesty's Troops, and the Followers of the Army, as Barracks during the Winter season: To quiet the Fears of the Inhabitants, and more especially to take all due care for the Preservation of such Goods, Wares, and Merchandize: I have thought fit, and do hereby authorize and appoint you, the said Crean Brush, to take and receive into your care, all such Goods, Chattels and Effects, as may be voluntarily delivered into your Charge by the Owners of such Goods, or the Person or Persons whose Care they may be left in, on your giving Receipts for the same: and you are to take all due Care thereof, and to deliver said Goods when called upon, to those to whom you shall have given Receipts for the same.

"Given under my Hand and Seal, at Head-quarters in Boston, the first day of October, 1775, &c.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"SAMUEL KEMBLE, *Secr'y.*"

"☞ By Order of the Commander-in-Chief, proper Apartments in Faneuil Hall are provided for the Reception of such Goods as may be delivered, where Attendance will be given from Ten o'Clock every morning 'till One."

The property of the citizens which, according to this order, was stored in Faneuil Hall, was removed afterwards, that the building might be used by the British officers, for theatrical performances. It was consequently for the most part scattered and lost.

CREAN BRUSH.

We are naturally concerned to ask who was the man bearing such an extraordinary name, to whom the Royal General committed such a responsible service, and how he discharged it. The people driven from their homes had left all this valuable property at risk; and when on the approach of winter the General found it necessary to house his army, he wished to empty stores and dwellings.

Crean Brush was a man of ill-repute, and of a stormy career, and he came to an unhappy end. He may be traced in Dr. O'Callaghan's Documentary History of New York. He was born in Dublin, bred to the

law, and admitted to practice in New York, where he held office under the Provincial Secretary. He appears as a violent actor in the controversies and hostilities between the authorities of New York and the settlers in the so-called "Hampshire Grants," now Vermont, who held titles from the Governor of New Hampshire, disputed by New York. In those controversies, the famous Ethan Allen appears conspicuously as one of the settlers. His wife was a step-daughter of Crean Brush. Brush had made his way to Boston in the autumn of 1775, and had so ingratiated himself with the General, as to have the above trust assigned to him. Early in the next year, he obtained from Gen. Howe authority to raise in the town a body of three hundred loyal volunteers, who were to serve, like the corps of Royal Fencible Americans already organized in the town, on certain terms. Just previous to the Evacuation, as we shall see, Howe gave him another commission, under which he set an example followed by too many others, hardly worse, however, than himself, of breaking open and plundering houses and stores of furniture and goods. He packed his own spoils, to the value, it was said, of a hundred thousand dollars, on board the brigantine Elizabeth. While the heavily laden vessel was straggling off, to join the departing fleet, she was captured, with the robbers in her, by the gallant Manly, and brought back to Boston, giving occasion for a sharp quarrel between the owners of the goods in her and her captors. Brush was put in jail, heavily ironed, in Boston, and kept under rigid restrictions, marked by merited indignities, though it would seem that he found means for gross intemperance. The next year he was joined by his wife, who, after he had been in prison more than nineteen months, contrived, by disguising him in her own clothing, to enable him, on the night of November 5, 1777, to get out of jail, and, by preparations she had made for him, to effect his escape to New York. He first went to Vermont, to look after his fifty thousand acres of land. He fell into further trouble, — his estate was mainly confiscated. Under grief and remorse, he blew out his brains with a pistol, in May, 1778.

PRINTING IN BOSTON.

With their proclamations and notifications of various kinds, the British Generals furnished much matter for the press in Boston. Ben-

jamin Edes, the sturdy Whig printer of the "Boston Gazette," had, with marvellous prowess, on the first shutting up of Boston, contrived to evade the sentinels, and not only to get out of the town himself, but to carry with him an old press, and some founts of type. He continued his paper at Watertown. Margaret, the widow of Richard Draper, continued his paper, the "Boston News Letter," in her own name, and in the British interest, during the Siege, and her press was well patronized.

PROCLAMATIONS BY GEN. GAGE.

In another of these papers, Gen. Gage offers a reward of ten guineas for the apprehension of the person who had stolen the Province Seal.

The following call for ascertaining the number of people in the town may have been prompted by a desire to give information in England: —

"BY THE GOVERNOR. A PROCLAMATION.

"The Circumstances of the Inhabitants of the Town of *Boston*, being such as makes it necessary I should know the Number of Persons that still remain therein: I have thought fit to issue this proclamation, requiring a Return of the Names of every Inhabitant in said Town (the Army and Navy excepted) and their Places of Abode, unto the Town Major, at his Office in Long Lane, on or before Thursday next, the Fifth day of this Instant, distinguishing the Males from the Females with their respective Ages.

"And, I do hereby further require of every Person that may hereafter come into the Town of *Boston*, immediately after their Arrival, to enter their Names at the office aforesaid.

"Given at Boston the Second Day of October, 1775, &c., &c.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"THOMAS FLUCKER, *Secr'y.*

"GOD Save the KING."

The number of inhabitants other than soldiers was estimated at 6,573, and of the soldiers, with their women and children, at 13,600. The

people were required to be in their houses at nine o'clock, and the streets, which were dark and dangerous, were patrolled. A vote had been passed at a town-meeting in 1773, to purchase, in London, three hundred street lamps. But they were on board one of the tea-ships that went ashore on Cape Cod, in December of that year.

BURGOYNE'S THEATRICALS IN BOSTON.

General Burgoyne had nearly two months longer stay in the town after Gage had gone, to mature freely his own opinions in a closer intimacy with his colleague, Gen. Howe, then in the chief command, while Clinton went over to Charlestown.

In the irksome confinement and routine of garrison life, wherever officers can find female associates and friends, there is always one resource, however forced and tame it may be, which will be sought as a relief from despondency and inanity. Such of the sex in Boston as indulged tory proclivities, and such were not lacking, with attractions of grace and culture, responded to the efforts of the officers to provide assemblies and dances. These were held in Concert Hall, which has so recently disappeared from the southerly corner of Court and Hanover streets. There were other women in Boston, who would take no part in such gayeties. In a confidential letter which Burgoyne wrote, Aug. 20th, to Attorney-General Thurlow, he refers with some complacency to the literary labors which had occupied his constrained leisure, as he had been "called upon to draw a pen instead of a sword." "If the proclamation for the exercise of martial law, the correspondence with Lee, or the answer to Washington upon the subject of rebel prisoners, fall into your hands, I request you to consider those productions with all the allowances your candor can suggest." But the writer is silent as to his kindly intended efforts, as a man of pleasing social qualities, to contribute to the amusement of the melancholy circle in Boston. A series of theatrical exhibitions was given under his direction, in Faneuil Hall, in the autumn. On the adjoining page is a fac-simile of the announcement of the tragedy of "Zara," which was acted several times. Burgoyne wrote the Prologue and the Epilogue, the former of which was spoken by Lord Rawdon, and the latter by a young lady, ten years old.

In these compositions the writer good-humoredly ridicules the prudery and Puritan severity of the Bostonians, but urges the English troops to

> "Unite the warrior's with the patriot's care,
> And whilst you burn to conquer, wish to spare."

While the young lady's concluding moral points to the naughtiness of rebellion, and lays it down that, —

> "Duty in female breasts should give the law,
> And make e'en love obedient to Papa."

A reference to this performance is found in a letter addressed by Thomas Stanley — second son of Lord Derby — to Hugh Elliot, after Stanley's return to Boston, where he had served on Burgoyne's staff. [Memoir of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, by the Countess of Minto, p. 92.]

"We acted the tragedy of *Zara* two nights before I left Boston, for the benefit of the widows and children. The prologue was spoken by Lord Rawdon, a very fine fellow and good soldier. I wish you knew him. We took above £100 at the door. I hear a great many people blame us for acting, and think we might have found something better to do; but General Howe follows the example of the King of Prussia, who, when Prince Ferdinand wrote him a long letter, mentioning all the difficulties and distresses of the army, sent back the following concise answer: 'De la gaieté, encore de la gaieté, et toujours de la gaieté.' The female parts were filled by young ladies, though some of the Boston ladies were so prudish as to say this was improper."

Later, in the enjoyment of these theatricals, the spectators and the actors experienced a somewhat rude shock. On the evening of Jan. 8th, 1776, a farce, called "The Blockade of Boston," was upon the stage in Faneuil Hall. One of the actors, representing a travesty of Gen. Washington, had come in in grotesque array, with wig and rusty sword, with a squire, in similar array, carrying a rusty gun. At this moment a sergeant rushed in shouting, "The Yankees are attacking our works on Bunker's Hill." For a moment this was taken to be a part of the play. But, on the next, Gen. Howe, who was present, gave the order, "Officers, to your alarm posts!" There was an instant

crowding and rush to the door, with a fainting and shrieking of the women. The alarm was caused by the enterprise of Major Knowlton, near Charlestown Neck, where he had burned some houses used by the British, causing a bright conflagration, had killed one man, and brought off five prisoners.

GENERAL HOWE IN COMMAND IN BOSTON.

The new commander of the besieged town showed a desire to do anything within his power and resources to put his army into the best condition possible, and to be prepared for a campaign, or any emergency. But his embarrassments and disabilities proved to be the same as Gage had encountered. During the summer and autumn there was prevailing sickness in the town; the hospitals and many private dwellings were filled with sufferers, poorly ministered to; and the inhabitants were in a constant state of distress and alarm. The following proclamations, issued by the General, exhibit the directions in which his zeal manifested itself. In a third publication, of the same date, he forbade any one, who had permission to leave the town, to take away with him more than five pounds sterling.

"A PROCLAMATION. By His Excellency, the Hon. Wm. Howe, Major General, and Commander-in-Chief, &c.

"*Whereas*, it is become the indispensable Duty of every loyal and faithful Citizen, to contribute all in his Power for the Preservation of Order and good Government within the Town of Boston:

"I do hereby recommend, that the Inhabitants do immediately associate themselves, to be formed into Companies under proper Officers, selected by me, from among the Associators, to be solely employed within the Precincts of the Town, and for the Purposes above mentioned.

"That this Association be opened in the Council Chamber, under the Direction of the Honorable Peter Oliver, Foster Hutchinson, and William Brown, Esquires: on Monday the thirtieth Day of October, 1775, and

continued for four Days following, that no One may plead Ignorance of the same.

"Out of the Number of Persons voluntarily entering into this Association, all such as are able to discharge the Duty required of them, shall be properly Armed, and an Allowance of Fuel and Provisions be made to those requiring the same, equal to what is issued to His Majesty's Troops within the Garrison.

"Given at Head Quarters in Boston, this Twenty-eighth Day of October, 1775.

"W. HOWE.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"ROBERT MACKENZIE."

"A PROCLAMATION, by His Excellency The Honorable WILLIAM HOWE, Major General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces within the Colonies laying on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia to West Florida inclusive, &c., &c., &c.

"WHEREAS, several of the Inhabitants of this Town have lately absconded to join, it is apprehended, His Majesty's Enemies, assembled in open Rebellion:

"I DO, by Virtue of the Power and Authority in me vested by His Majesty, forbid any Person or Persons whatever, not belonging to the Navy, to pass from hence by Water or otherwise from the Date hereof, without my Order or Permission given in Writing.

"ANY Person or Persons detected in the Attempt, or who may be retaken, upon sufficient Proof thereof, shall be liable to Military Execution; and those who escape shall be treated as Traitors, by Seizure of their Goods and Effects.

"ALL Masters of Transports or other Vessels sailing from hence, unless under the immediate Order of Samuel Graves, Esq., Vice Admiral of the White, &c., &c., &c., or Officer commanding His Majesty's Ships of War on this Service for the Time being, are hereby strictly forbidden to receive any Person or Persons on Board without my Order or Permission in Writing. Any Master or others detected in Disobeying this Proclamation shall be liable to such Fine and Imprisonment as may be adjudged.

"Given at Head Quarters in Boston, this Twenty-eighth Day of October, 1775."

At the end of November, while the small-pox was raging in the town, Howe sent out, to Point Shirley and Chelsea, hundreds of the destitute inhabitants, with nothing but a scanty allowance of furniture and clothing. He had given orders for the destruction of one of the meeting-houses of the town, and a large number of houses and barns, for fuel; and, as advantage was taken of this order by the soldiers for private dévastation, he issued a warning against such wanton mischief. The Provost was commissioned to go his rounds, attended by executioners, and at once to hang detected offenders. It was under the stress of such circumstances that the following was issued: —

"A PROCLAMATION, by His Excellency the Hon. Wm. Howe, Major Gen'l and Commander in Chief, &c.

"Whereas, the present and approaching Distresses of many of the Inhabitants in the Town of Boston, from the Scarcity and high Prices of Provisions, Fuel, and other necessary Articles of Life, can only be avoided by permitting them to go where they may hope to procure easier Means of Subsistence:

"Notice is hereby given, that all those suffering under the above-mentioned Circumstances, who chuse to depart the Town, may give in their Names, Abode, Number and Names of those in Family, Effects, &c., that Passes may be made out, conformable to Regulations already established.

"Given at Head Quarters in Boston, this sixth Day of November, 1775.

"W. HOWE.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"ROBERT MACKENZIE."

So the dreary winter passed with the besieged forces. They felt increasingly all the humiliations of their condition, and were waiting for the spring, for reinforcements, and for decisive orders, to meet the contingencies of the future. The result of the bold and effective measures of the provincial army in the occupation of the heights of Dorchester, as given in the preceding address, may be accompanied here by some incidental details.

THE CONTRACT FOR THE EVACUATION AND SAFETY OF BOSTON.

The understanding and the implied covenant between the belligerents, which saved Boston from being bombarded or burned, while securing its evacuation by the British forces, were at the time, well understood on this side of the water. The measures to effect the desired object were conducted by the selectmen of the town, at the instigation of the remnant of the patriotic inhabitants and owners and guardians of the property in it. Their apprehensions of calamity attached equally to the probable course which might be adopted by either party; the patriots might destroy the town for the sake of driving out the enemy, or the enemy might burn the town in revenge for being compelled to leave it. Washington and the British commander could hold no direct official correspondence on the subject, for the latter, holding to his resolve not to recognize any title or rank that was not derived from the king, would not address Washington according to the terms which Congress had enjoined as the requisite condition for such official correspondence. A vain attempt was afterwards made by a British officer to reconcile the American commander to being addressed "George Washington, &c., &c., &c.," on the plea that those *et cetera* would include *everything*. Washington replied that they might also include *anything*.

Captain Irvine, with six other persons, had escaped from Boston on the night of March 8th, and reported the active work in progress for embarking the British forces. A flag came out of Boston the same evening, bearing the following paper, without any address, though intended for Washington, and signed by four of the selectmen, dated, Boston, 8 March, 1775: —

"As His Excellency General Howe is determined to leave the town with the troops under his command, a number of the respectable inhabitants, being very anxious for its preservation and safety, have applied to General Robertson for this purpose, who, at their request, has communicated the same to His Excellency General Howe, who has assured him that he has no intention of destroying the town, unless the troops under his command are molested during their embarkation, or at their departure, by the armed force without; which declaration he gave General Robertson leave to communicate to the inhabitants. If such an opposition should take place, we have the

greatest reason to expect the town will be exposed to entire destruction. Our fears are quieted with regard to General Howe's intentions. We beg we may have some assurance that so dreadful a calamity may not be brought on by any measures without. As a testimony of the truth of the above, we have signed our names to this paper, carried out by Messrs. Thomas and Jonathan Amory, and Peter Johonnot, who have at the earnest entreaties of the inhabitants, through the Lieutenant-Governor, solicited a flag of truce for this purpose.

"JOHN SCOLLAY, THOMAS MARSHALL,
TIMOTHY NEWELL, SAMUEL AUSTIN."

This paper was taken to the Roxbury lines by Major Bassett, of the Tenth Regiment, and given to Colonel Learned, who carried it to headquarters. On his return he wrote the following reply to the bearers of it: —

"ROXBURY, 9 March, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN, — Agreeably to a promise made to you at the lines yesterday, I waited upon His Excellency General Washington, and presented to him the paper handed to me by you from the Selectmen of Boston. The answer I received from him was to this effect: That as it was an unauthenticated paper, without an address, and not obligatory upon General Howe, he would take no notice of it. I am, with esteem and respect, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient servant,

"EBENEZER LEARNED.

"To Messrs. AMORY and JOHNNOT."

The answer of Washington was in conformity with the advice of such general officers as he could immediately summon, who agreed with him that, as the paper lacked the guaranty of General Howe, he could not be held by it to any terms of obligation. None the less, however, was Washington willing to act in conformity with the arrangement, though he watched the enemy most rigidly during the embarkation, ready to avenge any wanton mischief on their part. The last token of Howe's presence in the town is in the following: —

"By His Excellency William HOWE, Major General, &c., &c , &c.

"As Linnen and Woolen Goods are Articles much wanted by the Rebels, and would aid and assist them in their Rebellion, the Commander-in-Chief expects that all good Subjects will use their utmost Endeavors to have all

such articles conveyed from this Place. Any who have not Opportunity to convey their Goods under their own Care, may deliver them on Board the Minerva, at Hubbard's Wharf, to Crean Brush, Esq., mark'd with their Names, who will give a Certificate of the Delivery, and will oblige himself to return them to the Owners, all unavoidable Accidents excepted.

"If, after this Notice, any Person secretes or keeps in his Possession such Articles, he will be treated as a Favourer of Rebels.

"Boston, March 10th, 1776."

Here again we have recognized the official agency of Mr. Brush, whose career has been briefly sketched above.

THE LEAVE-TAKING AND EMBARKATION.

The following extracts from British sources give us authentic information concerning the last days of the occupancy of Boston by the royal army. Almon's "Remembrancer" (Vol. III., pp. 106, 107) published a letter "from an officer of distinction at Boston to a person in London," under dates from March 3d to 10th.

"*March 3d.* — For these last six weeks, or near two months, we have been better amused than could possibly be expected in our situation. We had a theatre, we had balls, and there is actually a subscription set on foot for a masquerade. England seems to have forgot us, and we have endeavored to forget ourselves; but we were roused to a sense of our present situation last night, in a manner unpleasant enough. The rebels have been, for some time past, erecting a bomb battery, and last night began to play upon us. [From Lechmere's Point.] Two shots fell not far from me. One fell upon Colonel Monckton's house, and broke all the windows, but luckily did not burst till it had crossed the street. Many houses were damaged, but no lives lost. We expect some carcasses to-night, if the fear of destroying their own property does not prevent it. What makes this matter more provoking is, that their barracks are so scattered, and at such a distance, that we can't disturb them, although from a battery near the water side they can reach us easily.

"*March 4th.* — If something is not speedily done his Britannic Majesty's American dominions will probably be confined within a very narrow compass. The rebel army is not brave, I believe, but it is agreed on all hands that their artillery officers are at least equal to our own. In the number of shells that they flung last night not above three failed. This morning we flung four, and three of them burst in the air.

"*March 5th.* — This is, I believe, likely to prove as important a day to the British empire as any in our annals. We underwent last night a very severe cannonade, which damaged a number of houses, and killed some men. This morning, at daybreak, we discovered two redoubts on the hills on Dorchester Point, and two smaller works on their flanks. They were all raised during the night, with an expedition equal to that of the genii belonging to Aladdin's wonderful lamp. From these hills they commanded the whole town, so that we must drive them from their post, or desert the place. The former is determined upon, and five regiments are already embarked. A body of light infantry, under the command of Major Musgrave, an excellent officer, and a body of grenadiers, are to embark to-night at seven. I think it is likely to be so far a general affair, that we shall take our share in it. Adieu, balls, masquerades, &c., for this may be looked upon as the opening of the campaign.

"It is worth while to remark with what judgment the leaders of the rebels take advantage of the prejudices, and work upon the passions of the mob. This 5th of March is the anniversary of what they call the Bloody Massacre, when, in (I think) 1769, the king's troops fired on the people in the streets of Boston. If ever they dare stand us, it will be to-day; but I hope to-morrow to be able to give you an account of their defeat.

"*March 6th.* — A wind more violent than anything I ever heard prevented our last night's purposed expedition, and so saved the lives of thousands. To-day they have made themselves too strong to make a dislodgment possible. We are under their fire whenever they choose to begin; so that we are now evacuating the town with the utmost expedition, and are leaving behind us half our worldly goods. Adieu! I hope to embark in a few hours.

"*March 7th.* — When the transports came to be examined they were void of both provisions and forage. If any are got on board to-day it will be as much as can be done. Never were troops in so disgraceful a situation, and that not in the least our own fault, or owing to any want of skill or discretion in our commanders, but entirely owing to Great Britain being fast asleep. I pity General Howe from my soul.

"*March 9th.* — *Transport.* I have slept one night on board; the troops are embarking as fast as possible. I mistook when I imagined the works already made could destroy the town; but the rebels possess a hill so situated, that if they pleased to erect a battery it would entirely consume us. They as yet have not proceeded to make a work, nor do they attempt to molest us in our embarkation. It appears as if there were at least a tacit agreement between Washington and General Howe.

"*March 10th.* — To-day the horse transports are ordered to pull down to

Castle William, a fort about three miles from the town in our possession; it commands the harbor, and the troops now here will embark the 1st. The retreat from the town is to be covered by a large body of grenadiers, and light infantry, and the 5th and the 10th Regiments. The Fowey, a man of war of twenty-eight guns, covers the retreat by water. A packet is to sail, I hear, as soon as the army is clear of the town; so probably I shall not have it in my power to inform you whether we are attacked in our retreat or not.

"*Nantasket Road, March 17th.* — Our retreat was made this morning between the hours of two and eight. Our troops did not receive the smallest molestation, though the rebels were all night at work on the near hill, and we kept a constant fire upon them, from a battery of four twenty-four pounders. They did not return a single shot. It was lucky for the inhabitants now left in Boston they did not. For I am informed everything was prepared to set the town in a blaze had they fired one cannon. The dragoons are under orders to sail to-morrow for Halifax, a cursed, cold, wintry place even yet. Nothing to eat, less to drink. Bad times, my dear friend. The displeasure I feel from the very small share I have in our present insignificancy is so great that I don't know the thing so desperate I would not undertake in order to change our situation."

From the "Remembrancer," III., 108. "A passenger from Boston gives the following account": —

"On the second of March the provincials began to bombard the town from a place called Phipps' Farm, and on the third they opened a 24-pound battery on Dorchester Neck, which annoyed the army exceedingly. On the fifth, Gen. Howe embarked six regiments to attack this battery, but a strong easterly wind preventing the men-of-war from covering or supporting them, it was thought advisable to desist. The next day he renewed the attempt, but found the work so strong that he returned without effecting anything. In the mean time, the provincials had thrown near a hundred bombs into the town, and fired with considerable execution from their battery. Gen. Howe, therefore, got some of the selectmen to go out to Gen. Washington to inform him that, if firing continued, he must set fire to the town to cover his retreat. Two of the selectmen returned, and having communed with Gen. Howe, went back, and the firing immediately ceased.

"Gen. Howe then began his embarkation. The refugee inhabitants went first, not being suffered to carry anything but necessaries. The mortars and heavy artillery could not be embarked; these, therefore, they endeavored to burst, by charging them full with powder, and firing it off. But this did

not answer their wishes. They attempted also to destroy all the small arms belonging to the town. While this work was going on, a deserter from the provincial camp informed Gen. Howe, on the tenth, that Gen. Washington was preparing for a general storm. Upon this intelligence, the General and all the troops immediately embarked, leaving the artillery, stores, etc., damaged only, as the hurry and confusion would permit.

"It now appeared, by the movements of the provincial army, that they were taking stations upon Hogg and Noddle's Islands, and preparing to attack Castle William. If they had succeeded in this, they would have had the command of Boston harbor, and destroyed the fleet. Gen. Howe, therefore, dismantled and blew up Castle William, and then fell down with the whole fleet into Nantasket road, which is an open and exposed station. The transports were mostly small schooners, under the protection of three men-of-war. March is the most tempestuous month of the year upon the American coast, so that without a miracle this wretched fleet must be dispersed and lost. It is impossible that more events could concur to render their distress complete, and their ruin almost inevitable. The terms of agreement between the two Generals were secret; but it is supposed that nothing was to have been destroyed, and that this breach of it determined the provincials to enter the town sooner than was intended."

"*Cambridge, March* 27. — Among other commodities belonging to the late garrison at Boston, we have got their orderly-book, by which it appears that Gen. Howe had 7,575 effective men, exclusive of the staff, so that with the marines and sailors he might be considered as 10,000 strong."

From an officer of a ship-of-war, Boston harbor, March 23: —

"The bay swarms with American privateers, but we hope to protect the transports, which are daily expected from the West Indies, and to send them safe to Halifax."

"Extract of a letter from Boston. His Majesty's ship *Chatham*, March 24, 1776." (Almon, III., 107): —

"The retreat of the troops from this garrison cannot fail to be differently represented in England, for which reason I have found time, from our great hurry, to give you some account of it. In the first place, the General not receiving any letters or despatches from government since the middle of October, could not fail of making everybody very uneasy. It looked as if we were left destitute, to get out of a bad scrape as we liked best. Our provisions falling short, added to our discontents The fleet afforded us no

relief. Little indeed was in their power; their own ill equipment was enough to make them as dissatisfied as ourselves. The provincials, who knew exactly the state of our garrison, harassed us from their batteries, with an intention of making our people more dissatisfied in hopes of desertions. Finding no probability of supply, and dreading the consequences of further delay, it was thought prudent to retire to the ships, and to save what we could. Our not being burthened with provisions, permitted us to save some stores and ammunition, the light field-pieces, and such things as are most convenient of carriage. The rest, I am sorry to say, we were obliged to leave behind. Such of the guns as by dismantling we could throw into the sea, was done so; the carriages were disabled, and every precaution taken that our circumstances would permit, for our retreat was by agreement. The people of the town who were friends to government, took care of nothing but their merchandise, and found means to employ the men belonging to the transports in embarking their goods, by which means several of the vessels were entirely filled with private property instead of the king's stores. By some unavoidable accident, the medicines, surgeons' chests, instruments and necessaries were left in the hospital. The confusion, unavoidable on such a disaster, will make you conceive how much must be forgot where every man had a private concern. The necessary care and distress of the women, children, sick and wounded, required every assistance that could be given. It was not like breaking up a camp, where every man knows his duty; it was like departing your country, with your wives, your servants, your household furniture, and all your incumbrances. The officers, who felt the disgrace of their retreat, did their utmost to keep up appearances. The men, who thought they were changing for the better, strove to take the advantage of the present times, and were kept from plunder and drink with difficulty. In bad plight we go to Halifax. What supply we are to expect there I do not know; our expectations are not very sanguine. The neglect shown us bears hard on us all; the soldiers think themselves betrayed; the officers all blame the Admiralty, and your friend Lord S—— is universally execrated; the sea-officers complained they were hurried out of England in a most shameful condition, not half manned, and ill-provided. Fleet and army complain of each other, and both of the people at home. If we fare as ill at Halifax as we have done here lately, I fear we shall have great desertion, as the opportunity will be more convenient."

BOSTON HARBOR REOPENED.

The Renown, man-of-war, was stationed at Nantasket to guard the harbor and to warn off transports, and was a great annoyance in preventing wood and lumber coasters and other vessels from supplying Boston with necessaries. It was resolved that this troublesome object should be got rid of. On the morning of June 13th drafts from the troops in and near the town, a detachment from Col. Crafts' train of artillery, with some militia from the neighborhood, amounting in all to about six hundred, under command of Gen. Lincoln, went to Point Alderton, Petticks, and other neighboring islands. They vigorously bombarded and cannonaded the enemy, one of the shot piercing the Commodore's ship. The attack was so sudden and unlooked for that it caused the enemy great confusion. Without making any resistance the Renown slipped or cut her cables, and put to sea after sending men in boats to destroy the light-house. She was followed by twelve sail of other British ships, eight of which were reported to be transports with Highland recruits. The Port of Boston was thus opened just two years after it was closed by parliamentary edict. As soon as this event occurred the first fruits of the prowess of the provincials were realized. A continental schooner chased into the harbor two transports, which, with the help of forts on the islands, were captured and brought to Boston. The transports contained two hundred and twenty Highlanders, with their Colonel, Archibald Campbell, and Major Menzies. The Major was killed in the action, and was buried with military honors from Trinity Church. The Colonel, who attended as chief mourner, was sent as a prisoner to reside at Reading and Concord.

REPORT OF THE EVACUATION IN ENGLAND.

The announcement in England of the evacuation of Boston was received with amazement and consternation, and with the sharpest censures on the management of the war, mingled with taunts and sarcasms. Boston had engaged the hopes and fears of the ministry, and the people of England. It had been described as the metropolis of America, and the head-quarters of rebellion. As such it had been

chosen as the centre for the operation of all parliamentary edicts, and of all military movements. More than a million sterling had been spent to secure its hostile occupancy. Great Britain had been drained of men and food to hold it, and 60,000 tons of transports had been freighted to keep it. Now the "London Gazette," of May 3, makes the following placid announcement: —

"General Howe having taken a resolution on the 7th of March to remove from Boston to Halifax, with the troops under his command, and such of the inhabitants, with their effects, as were desirous to continue under the protection of his Majesty's forces, the embarkation was effected on the 17th of that month, with the greatest order and regularity, and without the least interruption from the rebels," &c.

Of course the other side of the story did not fail of being told with some embellishments. It was said that Gen. Howe went to the selectmen and informed them, —

"That he saw Mr. Washington was determined to have the town, that the town was of no consequence to the king's service, and that he would abandon it if Mr. Washington would not disturb his embarkation. He thought it a pity so fine a town should be burnt, and added the distress such desperation must occasion to the inhabitants; he showed them the combustibles he had laid, for setting it on fire in an instant, in every part, &c."

In consequence, it was added, the selectmen brought about the truce, though it was not understood whether any arrangement was made about the king's stores, etc.

Parliament being in session the Duke of Manchester, in the House of Lords, on May 10th, called for the despatches from America, which the ministry declined to produce on the plea that they concerned future operations. The duke indignantly presented the disgrace visited upon the British army and fleet, and the attempt to cast the veil of silence over the humiliating result. He added that private intelligence brought the trustworthy information that "General Howe quitted not Boston of his own free will; but that a superior enemy, by repeated efforts, by extraordinary works, by the fire of their batteries, rendered the place untenable."

The Earl of Suffolk, in defence of the ministry, replied: —

"The noble Duke says there must have been a convention between General Howe and the rebel commander, which I do assure His Grace was by no means the case; no convention, stipulation, concession, or compromise whatever, having been made. The General thought proper to shift his position (!!) in order, in the first place to protect Halifax, and after that object was secured, to penetrate, by that way, (!!) into the interior country, &c."

The Marquis of Rockingham told what he had heard from "a private channel," which was in exact conformity with the truth: —

"No formal convention, or capitulation, was signed, which I understood was avoided by the Generals on both sides for particular reasons: but there was every substantial requisite of a treaty or compromise."

Lord Shelburne and others, in opposition, confirmed this statement, but the minister persisted that he had no knowledge or belief of such a matter.

DIARIES AND LETTERS IN BOSTON DURING THE SIEGE.

The following interesting details are from the pen of Dr. James Thacher, in his "Military Journal of the War," through which he was a Surgeon in the American Army. He was at the time just come of age, and appointed Surgeon's mate under Dr. David Townsend, in Col. Whitcomb's Regiment on Prospect Hill. He lived to be ninety years old: —

"Immediately after the enemy sailed from Boston harbor, Gen. Washington ordered the major part of his army to march to New York, to secure the city against the apprehended invasion of Gen. Howe. It was not till Wednesday, the 20th, that our troops were permitted to enter the town, when our regiment, with two or three others, were ordered to march in and take up our quarters, which were provided for us in comfortable houses. While marching through the streets, the inhabitants appeared at their doors and windows; though they manifested a lively joy on being liberated from a long imprisonment, they were not altogether free from a melancholy gloom which ten tedious months' seige has spread over their countenances. The streets and buildings present a scene which reflects disgrace on their late occupants, exhibiting a deplorable desolation and wretchedness.

"*Boston, March 22d.* — A concourse of people from the country are crowding into the town, full of friendly solicitude; and it is truly interesting to witness the tender interviews and fond embraces of those who have been long separated under circumstances so peculiarly distressing. But it is particularly unfortunate on this occasion, that the small-pox is lurking in various parts of the town, which deters many from enjoying an interview with their friends. The parents and sister of my friend, Dr. Townsend, have continued in town during the siege. Being introduced to the family by the Doctor, I received a kind and polite invitation to take up my abode with them, where I am enjoying the kindest attentions and civilities. I accompanied several gentlemen to view the British fortifications on Roxbury Neck, where I observed a prodigious number of little military engines called caltrops or crow feet, scattered over the ground in the vicinity of the works, to impede the march of our troops in case of an attack. The implement consists of an iron ball armed with four sharp points, about one inch in length, so formed that which way soever it may fall, one point lies upward to pierce the feet of horses or men, and are admirably well calculated to obstruct the march of an enemy.

"*23d.* — I went to view the Old South Church, a spacious brick building near the centre of the town. It has been for more than a century [including the preceding structure on the same site] consecrated to the service of religion, and many eminent divines have, in its pulpit, labored in teaching the ways of righteousness and truth. But during the late siege the inside of it was entirely destroyed by the British, and the sacred building occupied as a riding-school for Burgoyne's regiment of dragoons. The pulpit and pews were removed, the floor covered with earth, and used for the purpose of training and exercising their horses. A beautiful pew, ornamented with carved work and silk furniture, was demolished; and by order of an officer, the carved work, it is said, was used as a fence for a hogsty. The North Church, a very valuable building, was entirely demolished and consumed for fuel. Thus are our houses, devoted to religious worship, profaned and destroyed by the subjects of His Royal Majesty.

"His Excellency, the commander-in-chief, has been received by the inhabitants with every mark of respect and gratitude, and a public dinner has been provided for him. He requested the Rev. Dr. Eliot, at the renewal of his customary Thursday Lecture, to preach a thanksgiving sermon, adapted to the joyful occasion. Accordingly, on the 28th, this pious divine preached an appropriate discourse from Isaiah xxxiii. 20: "Look upon Zion, the city of our Solemnities, etc.," in presence of His Excellency and a respectable audience.

"*29th.* — One of our soldiers found a human skeleton in complete prep-

aration, left by a British surgeon, which I have received as an acceptable present."

The young surgeon records his attendance on April 8th, in the King's Chapel, on "the funeral solemnities over the remains of that patriot and hero, Major Gen. Joseph Warren."

Though it was contrary to general orders, as he was surrounded by disease, he had recourse by advice of his friends to inoculation, by Dr. John Thomas, and passed through the process without suffering a day's confinement.

"*July* 3*d.* — Orders are given to inoculate for the small-pox, all the soldiers and inhabitants in town, as a general infection of this terrible disease is apprehended. Dr. Townsend and myself are now constantly engaged in this business."

DIARY OF EZEKIEL PRICE.

A very interesting diary covering the period and events of the Siege of Boston, printed at length in Proceedings of Mass. Historical Society Nov., 1863, is that of Ezekiel Price, Esq. He was Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions for Suffolk, and for many years Chairman of the Selectmen of Boston. He left the town with his family before the last of May, 1775, and went to reside during the troubles with Colonel Doty at Stoughton. He was intent to hear, and he made a daily record of the news and rumors of each day, stopping travellers as they passed his isolated abode, and constantly riding to the outskirts of Boston to inform himself of all that transpired. So he reproduces for the reader all the excitements and alarms of the time, tells us of those who, one by one, got out of the town, and of their reports of the state of things, and spends long evenings in discussing affairs with wayfarers and transient guests lodged under the same roof with him, as, for instance: —

"*July* 19, 1775. — One Carpenter, who last evening swam from Boston to Dorchester, says that it was very sickly in Boston, and that provisions were very scarce and the people in great distress." He heard, on July 28, that Carpenter, who was a barber, swam back to Boston again, and was caught and hanged on Copp's Hill. [He was sentenced, but respited, and afterwards pardoned.]

"*Sunday, March* 17. — At noon, Mr. Edmund Quincy brought us the most interesting, most important, and most comforting news we have heard since I left Boston, which was no less than that the Regulars and the mercenary troops, employed by the wicked, diabolical British ministry, had been obliged to fly out of Boston this day, but not before they had plundered the town, and committed thefts and depredations in every part of it, and conveyed their stolen goods on board the ships, and then departed out of the harbor. Thus the Royal British Army is now become Royal Thieves.

"*Monday, March* 18. — After obtaining a pass from General Ward, went through Roxbury, over Boston Neck; passed the enemy's lines there and at Boston Fortification, and rode through the main streets of my dear native town. There visited my sister, who had been forced from my house; saw a number of my Boston friends, and the friends of our country, who had been shut up near eleven months past in that town by the cruel hand of arbitrary power, and who, by means of the hard and savage treatment of the British soldiery, and the want, not only of the comforts, but many of the necessaries of life, were become thin, and their flesh wasted, but yet in good spirits, and rejoicing at meeting their fellow-townsmen; while the tories about the town to their thin visages added looks of guilt, and a conviction of their base ingratitude to their country and fellow-townsmen. As I passed through the town it gave me much pain of mind to see the havoc, waste and destruction of the houses, fences and trees in the town, occasioned by those sons of Belial, who have near a year past had the possession of it. But, save a few wretches who tarried behind to take the punishment due to their wicked deeds, the inhabitants who are now taking their residence in the town, seemed all of one heart and one mind, zealous in the support of our rights and liberties, and, if possible, more determined than ever to resist the force and power of all those who dare attempt to invade them. Accordingly every method is taking in the town to fortify and strengthen it against our enemies, and prevent their ever being able to land again in that town. The thefts and robberies of the royal thieves are very great, and many worthy inhabitants will be ruined by it. I returned home [to Stoughton] in the evening.

"*March* 21. — Last evening the enemy burnt all the buildings on Castle Island. Snow-storm last night.

"*March* 22. — Went to Boston. Visited my sister. Found that a considerable part of my furniture was broke, and some of it lost; however am thankful so much of it still remains. The fleet continues in Nantasket Road. The town appears in many places but little better than a heap of ruins. Great numbers of the houses are wholly down; a great number of others are almost destroyed, the insides of them being cut and broke in pieces, and of

many of them nothing more left than the outside shell. Returned home in the evening [to Stoughton].

"*Friday, March* 29. — Set out early in the morning and went to Boston, where a town-meeting was held for the choice of town officers. The scattered inhabitants collected together, met at the Old Brick Meeting-house [First Church, on the site of Joy's Buildings], and proceeded in the choice of the officers of the town, usually chosen at their annual March meeting. And it was really a very pleasant sight, after near eleven months' absence, to see so many of my worthy fellow-citizens meet together in that now ravaged, plundered town; but the spot even yet agreeable. Some person had broke into Mrs. Draper's house and robbed me of great part of my china. Returned to my Stoughton home in the evening.

"One Wall, who assisted the Regulars, and was engaged with them in the battle at Bunker's Hill, is taken up in Boston, and committed to jail there. A list of the tories remaining in Boston, with their several characters and behavior during their residence with the Regulars in Boston, is sent to the General Court: and a committee is appointed thereon.

"*Saturday, April* 6. — In the afternoon, Ed. Quincy stopped here. He came from Boston, and says that Capt. Manly was in Boston, and told there he had taken out of the fleet a brig laden with tories and tory goods, and other effects which they plundered in Boston. Among the tories is Bill Jackson. It is said this was their richest vessel in the fleet: had eighteen thousand pounds sterling in cash on board, besides an exceeding valuable cargo of European merchandize. Besides 'Bill Jackson,' 'Crane Brush' was taken in this vessel.

"*Friday, April* 19. — Went to Boston, remained all day, and lodged there with Capt. Jonathan Davis. The evening I spent in company with five or six of my old friends and acquaintance. The town yet looks melancholy: but few of the inhabitants being removed back into it, occasioned by its not being sufficiently fortified and garrisoned against any further attempt of the enemy, to which it now lies much exposed. The shops in general remain shut up. This day is the anniversary of the famous battle of Lexington.

"*April* 20. — Remained in Boston. Several of the active tories have been examined by the Court of Inquiry, and committed to jail for trial. Dr. Whitworth and Son were yesterday on their examination, and afterwards ordered to give bail. It is said the justices have evidence of the doctor's not having acted the part of an honest surgeon, in his practice on the late unfortunate Colonel Parker: and that his limb was unnecessarily taken off, and a cruel neglect of attendance on him, by which means he lost his life." [Parker of Chelmsford was taken prisoner at Bunker's Hill, and died in Boston jail.]

Mr. Price took a house in Dorchester till he should think it safe to make his home in Boston, where he went daily to examine papers in the Custom-house, Treasurer Gray's office, and the Province House. Many other citizens, like himself, considered Boston still in danger.

LETTERS TO GARDINER GREENE.

In Proceedings of Mass. Historical Society for June, 1873, are three very lively letters relating to the siege and evacuation, addressed to Gardiner Greene. As a merchant, at the age of twenty-one, he had left here for Demarara in Sept., 1774. He visited Boston in 1788, when he married here a second wife, and in 1800 was married, a third time, to the daughter of the painter Copley. He then came to this his native place, being one of the most eminent and prospered merchants here till his death in 1832.

The writer of the first of these letters, his friend, D. Greene, dating Boston, May 6, 1775, congratulates him that he is out of "this unhappy country, in its present situation inferior to any country on earth." He gives a vivid account of the affair at Concord, of the rising of the country people, and of the stopping next day of all free communication with the town, and of the difficulties attending the arrangement with Gage for the exit of the inhabitants. His sympathies appear to have been with the royalist party. He mentions many prominent persons and families in the town, as they were alarmed at the state of things, some concluding to stay, others likely to be scattered in various directions, while he, with a few friends, was going to London.

The second letter is from Joseph Greene, the brother of Gardiner, and is of similar tenor.

The third letter is from his friend, John Perkins, and is dated Halifax, Aug. 2, 1776. The writer, in explaining to his correspondent how he came to be where he was, informs him that Howe, with the British army, the tories, etc., had left Boston, and "come down to this hole, the dregs of the earth."

"When we came from Boston all your friends were well. They all stayed, as well as our family. By all accounts they fare tolerably well. Almost every one who came from Boston to this place have gone away again; some

for England, some for head-quarters, and the remainder will go as soon as they can learn where the army is gone to, and whether they have made their landing good, for this is without exception the most despicable place ever I knew. The price of living here is exceeding high, and the people in general, a poor, mean, low-lived set of beings; and were it not that I have some expectations, wouldn't tarry here a day longer after my accounts are settled.

"It is certainly a happy thing to live under so mild a government as the present English government; but I'm sure if more authority had been made use of a few years past, much expense might have been saved: but I blame no one, for the Devil himself couldn't think to see the present unhappy war increase to so great a height in so short a time.

"Your old friend, Jack Coffin, arrived here a few days past from London, bound to head-quarters; your Uncle Chandler sailed a few days past for London, together with John Powell and his family, our old friend, Frank Johonnot, John Erving and family, Mr. Lechmere and family, the commissioners, &c., &c.; in short, one-half of Boston is now in England, and they tell me that the Bostonians are so thick about the streets of London that it is imagined selectmen, wardens, &c., will be chosen there, according to the old Bostonian method."

Any reader who is curious to inform himself about the fortunes of the exiles who found their way to London, will find them related with force and pathos in the Journal and Letters of Judge Curwen, as edited by Mr. George A. Ward. The homeless wanderers lived for the most part on slender pensions from the government, and haunted places of resort to learn the news and rumors of their dismal days.

DR. ANDREW ELIOT.

Dr. Andrew Eliot, settled over the New North Church in Boston in 1742, remained in Boston during the siege. Some very interesting letters from him to his son Samuel, at Waltham, with his family, are preserved. Samuel left Boston August 2d.

The doctor's family left early in the siege. His wife went to Fairfield, Ct., May 3d. He did not see her for eleven months, and found great difficulty in communicating with her at rare intervals, and sending her money and apparel. When flags passed between the armies those who could make strong interest could exchange open letters.

The doctor had no idea of what was before him when he tarried in the town. Seeing winter before him, he, in September, tried very earnestly to get a pass, but it was refused. He once made preparation for the winter, but, thinking he should be allowed to leave, sold his stores, and then, in the impossibility of replacing them, suffered severely, in deprivations, and in anxiety about his family. He wrote his son, on Nov. 20, "Had I known what I was to endure, I should have been among the first that left the town, though I had lost all."

Clinton was in Hancock's house; Burgoyne in Bowdoin's; Drs. Mather and Byles remained, and Mr. Boylston, Broomfield and Jona. Amory. Earl Percy was in the Andrews house, corner of Winter and Tremont streets.

About 5,000 of the inhabitants of the town were supposed to have remained after Bunker Hill.

The selectmen were not allowed to go out.

Interleaved Kneeland's Almanac, 1775, notes: —

"Thurs. Lee. Preach., &c.

"*April* 19. — Engagement at Concord.

"*April* 30. — My children sailed for Salem.

"*May* 3. — Dear Mrs. Eliot set out for Fairfield.

"*June* 17. — Battle at Charlestown; Town consumed. Oh, diem horrendum! bella, horrida bella! 18, preached A. M. and P. M.

"*June* 22. — Dr. Mather. Thurs. Lecture." "29. — No Lecture."

He carried on the Thursday lecture alternately with Dr. Mather.

"*November* 30. — Preached, T. L. *Cœtus vere parv.* The attendance of this lecture being exceeding small, and our work greatly increased in other respects, Dr. Mather and I, who, since the departure of our other Brethren, had preached it alternately, thought proper to lay it down for the present. I preached the last sermon from those words in Rev. 2, 'Remember how thou hast received,' &c. An affecting occasion of laying down a lecture which had subsisted more than 140 years. The small congregation was much moved at the conclusion."

"Records, means of support, contributions, private gifts sent in, meats, other articles of subsistence and various luxuries."

Interleaved Almanac, 1776: —

"*March* 17. — Preached A. M. and P. M. Boston evacuated.
"*March* 23. — Cambridge. Dined with Col. Miflin.
"*March* 27. — Cambridge. Dined with Gen. Washington.
"*March* 28. — Preached before Gen. Washington." [Thursday Lecture.]

The following is an extract from a letter written in Boston, July 31, 1775, by Dr. Eliot to his parishioner, Daniel Parker, Esq., who had got out of the town into Salem: —

"Your great attention to me and concern for my comfort deserve my sincerest thanks. I received the two quarters of mutton, and have divided one between Dr. Rand and Mr. Welsh, who express their acknowledgements in the highest terms. Part of the other I shall send to make broth for the prisoners, who have really suffered for the want of fresh meat. I shall this day make a quantity of broth for the sick around me, who are very numerous. You cannot conceive the relief you will give to great numbers of persons by this kind office. Perhaps your broth has been dispensed to thirty or forty sick people. I have invited a number of friends to partake of the rest. To live among scenes of blood and slaughter, and other trials I do not care to mention is hard, and yet, on the whole, I cannot say I am sorry I tarried."

The following letter was written by Dr. Eliot to his friend, Mr. Isaac Smith, a graduate and a tutor at Harvard College. In the panic which seized many of the people of Boston he embarked at Marblehead for England, May 27, 1775. He was ordained as minister of a dissenting congregation at Sidmouth, England, June 24, 1778; embarked for his return here in April, 1784; became librarian at Harvard, and afterwards served as Chaplain to the Boston Almshouse: —

"Boston, April 5, 1776.

"Mr. Isaac Smith, *London*: —

"My very dear Sir, — When I wrote you last I did not dare to write with any kind of freedom, lest what I wrote should fall into the hands of our then Masters, which would have exposed me to their resentment, which I greatly feared, for their wrath was cruel. I cannot repent my having tarried in town; it seemed necessary to preserve the very face of religion. But nothing would induce me again to spend eleven months in a garrison town.

"We have been afraid to speak, to write, almost to think. We are now

relieved — wonderfully delivered! The town hath been evacuated by the British troops so suddenly that they have left amazing stores behind them, vast quantities of coal, which the inhabitants have been cruelly denied through the winter, cannon and warlike stores in abundance, porter, horse-beans, hay, casks, bran, &c. Great numbers of the friends to Government, as they are called, are gone to Halifax, crowded in vessels which will scarce contain them. What will become of them there, God knows! The place is full already. This inglorious retreat hath raised the spirits of the colonists to the highest pitch. They look upon it as a compleat victory. I dare now to say what I did not dare to say before this — I have long thought it — that Great Britain *cannot* subjugate the colonies. Independence, a year ago, could not have been publicly mentioned with impunity. Nothing else is now talked of, and I know not what can be done by Great Britain to prevent it.

"Your letters were much admired at our Head Quarters in town. They were sent out, but your father [in Salem] tells me he never received his. You will easily believe they were not relished by those at the head of affairs on the other side. They are at present kept secret, but you will naturally suppose must have created a prejudice against you, so far as they are known.

"I did not care in my last to mention the contempt thrown upon our places of Worship. The Old North pulled down; Dr. Sewall's [Old South] made a riding school for the Light Horse, — the house gutted, and the inside totally destroyed; Dr. Cooper's [Brattle street], Mr. Howard's [West Church], and Dr. Byles' [Hollis street] turned into barracks, without any appearance of necessity; Mr. Moorhead's [Federal street] filled with hay; Mr. Stillman's [Baptist] made an Hospital. Such conduct would disgrace barbarians. I am quite sick of Armies, and am determined, if possible, never to live in the same place with any considerable body of forces.

"I referred you to Mr. W——. You must make some allowances for the losses he hath met with, which have too much actuated his mind. He is a sensible man, and I hope will meet with encouragement.

"I attended last week a meeting of the Overseers and Corporation [of the college] at Watertown, for the first time since our enlargment. We voted General Washington a degree of LL.D. He is a fine Gentleman, and hath charmed everybody since he hath had the command.

"I find a committee of overseers appointed, at the motion of the General Court, to examine the political principles of those who govern the college. I hope no evil will come to several worthy men there. I hear your letter was taken as a resignation [as a Tutor]. Mr. Professor Sewall at present officiates in your place. The President is in haste to move the Students to Cambridge. The Buildings are in a shocking state, having been improved for barracks.

The Library and Apparatus are safe at Andover. The soldiers are all gone from Cambridge to the Southward, where they expect the seat of action will be.

"Dr. Warren's body hath been brought from Bunker's Hill, and was buried yesterday with all Military Honors, and those of Masonry. It was carried from the Representatives' Chamber to the King's Chapel. Dr. Cooper prayed. Mr. Perez Morton delivered a spirited oration, wherein he publicly urged an entire disconnection with Great Britain. This is the fashionable doctrine, and I again say that I do not see that Great Britain can prevent it. When she rejected the last petition of the Congress it was all over with her.

"I am yours, very sincerely,

"A: ELIOT."

DIARY OF TIMOTHY NEWELL.

There is a lively and piquant character in the following extracts from the diary of Timothy Newell, Esq., one of the selectmen of Boston. He remained in the town during the siege. As a deacon, and one of the committee of Brattle-street Church, he made laborious and zealous efforts to preserve and save from abuse the costly and elegant structure, which had then been built only two or three years for the society. The diary is printed in full, in the Collections of Mass. Historical Society, 4th Series, Vol. 1. The following are extracts: —

Memorandum, 14th Sept., 1775.

Messrs. Auchinclosh, Morrisson, and another person came to me, as three Scotchmen had been before — they showed me a paper directed to me setting forth that "The Revd. Mr. Morrisson was permitted by his Excellency Genl. Gage to preach and desired he may have the use of Dr Cooper's Meetinghouse — signed by about 30 Scotchmen and others — viz. B. Hallowill J. Forrest &c. — I desired they would leave the Paper for my consideration. — They did not chuse I should keep it and began to urge their having the house. — For answer I told them, I looked upon it a high insult upon the Society their proposing it, and turned my back upon them and so left them. P.M. Messrs. Black, Dixon, Hunter, came and told me his Excellency the General, had consented they should have our Meetinghouse and desired I would deliver them the Key. I told them when I see such an order I should know how to proceed. One said to me — so, you refuse to deliver the Key. I answered with an emotion of resentment, Yes I do.

15th. As I was attending a funeral, the Provost Mr Cunningham, came to me and told me "It was his Excellency the Genls command, I should immediately deliver him the Key of Dr Cooper's Meetinghouse — I replied, I must see the Governor — he told me he would not see me till I had delivered the Key. I told him, I must see the General, and refused to deliver the Key. He left me in a great rage and swore he would

immediately go and break open the doors. I left the funeral and proceeded to the Governor's, — calling on Capt. Erving to go with me. — He excused himself, and so I went alone. The Governor received me civilly. I addressed myself to him and most earnestly intreated him that he would be pleased to withdraw his order, urging that Dr Elliot, in order to accommodate our people, was to preach in said Meeting-house next Sabbath, or the Sabbath after, and that the person they proposed was a Man of infamous character, which had it been otherwise, I should not oppose it &c. And I desired his Excellency would consider of it. He told me he would and that I might keep the Key, and if he sent for it he expected I would deliver it, — so left him. — I had not been, I believed 20 minutes from him before the Provost came with a written order to deliver the Key immediately, which I did accordingly. When I at first urged the Governor to excuse my delivering the Key for the reasons given — he replied that a number of creditable people had applied to him, and he saw no reason why that house should not be made use of as any other. Genl Robinson (when I mentioned the preacher being of an infamous character) said he knew no harm of the man, but this he knew that he had left a very bad service and taken up with a good one. The next day the Provost came to my shop, I not being there, he left word that he came for the apparatus of the Pulpit and that he must have the Key under the pulpit, supposing the curtain and cushions were there. The Provost the same day came again. I chose not to be there. He left orders to send him the aforesaid and swore most bitterly that if I did not send them, he would split the door open — and accordingly I hear the same was forced open and that if Dr Cooper and Dr Warren were there, he would break their heads and that he would drag me in the gutter, &c. &c. &c. — This being Saturday afternoon, I chose not to be seen — spent the evening at Major Phillips's — consulted with a few friends — advised still to be as much out of the way as possible. — Dr Elliot invited me to come very early in the morning (being Lords day) and breakfast with him and also dine, which I did and returned home after nine at night — found Serjent with a Letter had been twice at our house for me — Thus ends a Sabbath which exclusive of the perplexities and insults before mentioned, has has been a good day for me.

P. S. Capt. Erving and myself being the only persons of the Committee remaining in town, I acquainted him of the demands of the General, who advised me that if the Genl insisted on the delivery of the Key, to deliver the same. The next week several of our Parish thought proper to petition the Genl. — I advised with Foster Hutchinson Esqr, who thought it very proper, and accordingly at my desire he drew a petition, but upon further consideration and hearing of the opinion of the General, he thought it best not to present it.

14th } Began taking down houses at the South end, to build a new line of Works
19th } — A good deal of cannonading on both sides the lines for many days past. Several shots came thro' houses at the South end. Capt. Poulet lost his leg, &c. &c. &c.

27th. These several days past have been tolerably quiet. The works at the Southward go on. Yesterday the Cerberus Man of war arrived in 7 weeks from London — brings advices of coercive measures by Administration — 5 Regiments — one thousand Marines, another Admiral with a fleet of men of war &c. — and General Gage called home.

3d October. This morning two bomb Ketches and several armed vessels with some soldiers sailed on a secret expedition, it is said to demand a Ship belonging to Portsmouth, retaken by our whale boats, and carried into Cape Ann — also to demand of that town 40 seamen which they took from the man of war — if not delivered in 24 hours to bombard the town.

6th. The Provincials from Lams Dam discharged their cannon at the Regulars, as they relieve guard at the lines — One Corporal killed with a cannon ball.

10th. A negro man belonging to wheeling a barrow load of in the Streets, the Provost came up to him and caned him to a great degree. The negro conscious of his innocence asked him why he did so — he was told it was for wheeling his barrow at the side of the street and not in the middle. — General Gage sailed this day for London and left several thousand Inhabitants in town who are suffering the want of Bread and every necessary of life.

13th. Colonel Birch of the Lighthorse Dragoons went to view our Meetinghouse [Brattle St.] which was destined for a Riding School for the Dragoons. It was designed to clear the floor, [and] to put two feet of tan covered with horse dung to make it elastic. — But when it was considered that the Pillars must be taken away, which would bring down the roof, they altered their mind, — so that the Pillars saved us.

17th. Two floating batteries from the Provincials, from Cambridge river, fired a number of cannon into the Camp at the Common, the shot went thro houses by the Lamb Tavern &c. — A deserter who came in this morning, says one of the Cannon split, and killed and wounded several. 5 or 6 hats, a waistcoat and part of a boat came on shore at the bottom of the Common.

25th. Several nights past the whole army was ordered not to undress — the cannon all loaded with grape shot from a full apprehension the Provincials would make an attack upon the town. The streets paraded all night by the Light Horse.

27th. The spacious *Old South Meeting house*, taken possession of by the Light horse 17th Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Lieut Colo Samuel Birch. The Pulpit, pews and seats, all cut to pieces and carried off in the most savage manner as can be expressed and destined for a riding school. The beautiful carved pew with the silk furniture of Deacon Hubbard's was taken down and carried to 's house by an officer and made a hog stye. The above was effected by the solicitation of General Burgoyne.

30th. A soldier, one of the Light-horse men was hanged at the head of their camp for attempting to desert. Proclamation issued by General Howe for the Inhabitants to sign an Association to take arms &c.

November 4th. A Proclamation issued for people to give in their names to go out of town, but before the time limited expired a stop was put to it. This like others of the kind seems only designed to continue the vexation of the people.

9th. Several Companies of Regulars from Charlestown went over to Phip's farm to take a number of Cattle feeding there. The Provincials came upon them and soon drove them on board boats after an engagement — it is said several are and none killed, but they supposed many of the Provincials killed.

16th. Many people turned out of their houses for the troops to enter. The keys of our Meeting house cellars demanded of me by Major Sheriff by order of General Howe. Houses, fences, trees &c. pulled down and carried off for fuel. My wharf and barn pulled down by order of General Robinson. Beef, Mutton, Pork at 1/ 6 pr pound, Geese 14/ Fowls 6/ 8. L. M.

19th. A large ship arrived from Plymouth in England with almost every kind of provisions dead and alive, hogs, sheep, fowls ducks, eggs, mince meat &c. Gingerbread &c. *Memorandum* 25 Regiments of Kings troops now in this distressed town.

24th November. A transport Ship carried about 400 of our Inhabitants to Point Shirley. One poor Dutch woman attempted to carry with her about 60 dollars. Morrison the deserter seized them and carried them to the town Major. Ten dollars was stopped by him.

1st December. A large Brigt with ordnance stores, a very valuable prize from London taken by Captn Manly in a Schooner Privateer from Beverly.

3d. A Transport Ship sailed for Point Shirley, with about three hundred Inhabitants.

7th. A Brigt Privateer called the Washington brot in here Martindale, Captain, with six carriage guns and seventy five men taken by the Fowey man of war. The People sent to England in a man of war.

8th. Three Ships, from London, Glasgow and Liverpool, with stores for the army — a Brigt from Antigua with Rum, taken by the whale boats &c. in our Bay.

13th. News of several more Store Ships being taken by the Continental Privateers and whale boats.

17th. Sabbath morning was discovered new works going on at Phips's farm very near — upon which a cannonade and bombardment ensued and continued the 18, 19, and 20, from the Battery's of Charlestown and Boston Point. The man of war of 32 guns which lay opposite kept a constant fire. The first day a shot from Millers hill took her quarter and went thro' and thro' her — a shot the next day passed my house and struck yonng Dr Paddocks hat upon his head, as he was on Dr Lloyd's hill, the ball fell into his yard. The man of war slipt away in the night.

28th. Several Transports with Troops sailed on an Expedition.

30th December. Admiral Shuldam arrived from England in the Chatham man of war of 50 guns to supersede Admiral Graves. The Kings speech arrived.

1776. January 8th. Monday at half past 8 P.M being dark weather the Provincials attacked Charlestown, burnt the houses, remaining at Neck of land, carried off a serjent and a number of Men.

Just as the farce began at the Play-house of the Blockade of Boston — which with much fainting, fright, and confusion, prevented the scene.

16th. The *Old North Meeting house*, pulled down by order of Genl. Howe for fuel for the Refuges and Tories.

2nd February. Just at 11 oclock at night, some wanton soldier or officer fired a bomb from the battery, at New Boston, which bursted in the air, did no harm, but made such an alarm as occasioned a great blustering.

4th. At half past nine in the evening, 3 cannon fired from the lines at Charlestown and a number of small arms at the Soldiers pulling down the Mills — say two men killed and one wounded. The next day many cannon fired.

13th. This night a large body of the troops about 3. oclock set off on the Ice from the fortification, landed at Dorchester Neck and set fire to all the houses and barns, brot off six prisoners who were Centinels. Colo Lesslie from the Castle, assisted with the Troops there, and returned at seven o'clock — No engagement ensued — The Provincials guards run off.

Thursday 25th.* From the accounts of Dr Gilson, and some other Deserters from the Continental army, great preparations were making to attack the Town, — caused very alarming apprehensions and distress of the Inhabitants.

2nd March *Saturday* night half past 11, began from the Country, Bombardment and cannonade which continued on both sides till morning and then ceased and began again *Lords day* evening at 9 and so continued all the night, and tho' several houses were damaged and persons in great danger, myself *one*, no one as I can learn received any hurt.

4th March. Monday — soon after candle light, came on a most terrible bombardment and cannonade, on both sides, as if heaven and earth were engaged. Five or

* Must be 29th, as the 2d March was Saturday. [Transcriber.]

six 18 and 24^{lb} shot struck M^{r}. Chardon's house, Gray's, Winnetts, — our fence &c. — Notwithstanding, the excessive fire till morning, can't learn any of the Inhabitants have been hurt, except a little boy at M^{r} Leaks, had his leg broke — it is said some of the soldiery suffered.

5th Tuesday. — This morning the Provincials were discovered fortifying the heights of Dorchester — About 12 oclock 7 Regiments of the Kings Troops, embarked in Transports, commanded by General Jones which were to land at Dorchester-Neck and the main body, with the Light Dragoons were to go out at the lines in the night &c. &c. Eight or ten Ships sailed below — but whether, a Hurrycane, or terrible sudden storm which arose, in the evening prevented, or a pretence only, can't say — nothing was attempted, — Indeed the violence of the storm rendered it impossible for any boat to land — Some of the Transports were driven on Governors Island, but got off and returned.

6th. This day the utmost distress and anxiety is among the Refugees and associaters &c. &c. &c., orders being given to embark the Kings Troops and evacuate the Town. Blessed be God our redemption draws nigh.

7th Thursday. The last night and this day the Troops are very busily employed in removing their stores, cannon, ammunition — some of the Dragoons on Board, the Refugees &c. &c., in shipping their goods &c. The Selectmen write to the commanding officer at Roxbury, at the earnest desire of the Inhabitants and by permission of Gen^{l} Howe.

March 8th. The town all hurry and commotion, the troops with the Refugees and Tories embarking.

9th Saturday. D^{o}. D^{o}. D^{o}. Received answer from the lines from Col^{o} Learned commanding officer at Roxbury — (see the above) — Saturday evening 9 oclock, began cannonade, which continued the whole night — One 18 pound shot came thro' our house, another thro' the fence and summer house into the Garden, and several shot, thro' my neighbours' Houses.

10th Lord's day P M. Embarking orders are given to deliver Creen Brush esq^{r} all the woolen and linen goods — Some persons delivered their goods, others he forced from them, to a great value. Shops, stores, houses, plundered, vessels cut to pieces &c. &c. Very distressed times.

11th Monday. Cannonade began about half past 7 from Hatch's wharf and other battery's at near the fortification, which continued most of the night.

12th. This day and night quiet — the Soldiers shut up in their Barracks, except some who were about, plundering. The wind high at N. W. The Inhabitants greatly distressed thro' fear the Town would be set on fire by the Soldiers.

13th *Wednesday*. The Inhabitants in the utmost distress, thro' fear of the Town being destroyed by the Soldiers, a party of New York Carpenters with axes going thro' the town, breaking open houses &c. Soldiers and sailors plundering of houses, shops, warehouses — Sugar and salt &c. thrown into the River, which was greatly covered with hogsheads, barrels of flour, house furniture, carts, trucks &c. &c. — One Person suffered *four thousand pounds sterling*, by his shipping being cut to pieces &c. — Another *five thousand pounds sterling*, in salt wantonly thrown into the River.

14th March. Thursday. The same as above except somewhat restrained by the General.

15th Friday. The General sent to the Selectmen and desired their immediate attendance, which we did accordingly. It was to acquaint us that as he was about retreating from the Town, his advice was for all the Inhabitants to keep in their

houses and tho' his orders were to injure no person, he could not be answerable for any irregularities of his troops. That the *Fowey* man of war would continue in the harbour till the fleet sailed, loaded with carcases and combustibles, that in case the King's troops met with any obstruction in their retreat he should set fire to the Town, which he wished to avoid — That he thought it his duty to destroy much of the property in the town to prevent it being useful to the support of the Rebel army. The General further said to us, that who ever had suffered in this respect (who were not Rebels) it was probable upon application to Government, they would be considered — That Letters had passed between him and *Mr Washington*. That he had wrote to him in the style of *Mr Washington*. That however insignificant the character of his Excellency, which to him was very trifling — it ought not to be given to any but by the authority of the King. He observed the direction of our Letters to him was — To *his excellency General Washington*, which he did not approve and whatever Intelligence had been given to the Rebels, tho' in his letters to him, he did not charge him with being a Rebel. He further said he had nothing against the Select-men, which if he had he should certainly have taken notice of it — The General told us the Troops would embark this day and was told by General Robertson it would be by three o'clock. The Regiments all mustered, some of them marched down the wharf. Guards and Chevaux De Freze, were placed in the main streets and wharves in order to secure the retreat of Out Centinels. Several of the principle streets through which they were to pass were filled with Hhds' filled with Horse-dung, large limbs of trees from the Mall to prevent a pursuit of the Continental Army. They manifestly appeared to be fearful of an attack. The wind proved unfavorable, prevented their embarking. They returned to their quarters. Soon after several houses were on fire. The night passed tolerably quiet.

16th Saturday. Rain. Great distress plundering &c.

17th Lord's day. This morning at 3 o'clock, the troops began to move — Guards Chevaux de freze, Crow feet strewed in the streets to prevent being pursued. They all embarked at about 9 oclock and the whole fleet came to sail. Every vessel which they did not carry off, they rendered unfit for use. Not even a boat left to cross the River. — Thus was this unhappy distressed town (thro' a manifest interposition of divine providence) relieved from a set of men whose unparalled wickedness, profanity, debauchery and cruelty is inexpressible, enduring a siege from the 19th April 1775 to the 17th March 1776. Immediately upon the fleet's sailing the Select Men set off, through the lines, to Roxbury to acquaint General Washington of the evacuation of the town. After sending a message Major Ward aid to General Ward, came to us at the lines and soon after the General himself, who received us in the most polite and affectionate manner, and permitted us to pass to Watertown to acquaint the Council of this happy event. The General immediately ordered a detachment of 2,000 troops to take possession of the town under the command of General Putnam who the next day began their works in fortifying Forthill &c., for the better security of the Town. A number of loaded Shells with trains of Powder covered with straw, were found in houses left by the Regulars near the fortifycation.

THE BOSTON MINISTERS DURING THE SIEGE.

Dr. Charles Chauncey, of the First Church, or the Old Brick, being very obnoxious to the royalists, left Boston at the beginning of the siege, and returned when it closed. On the records of the society the only recognition of the troubles of the time is found in this entry, under date of August 13, 1776: —

"At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation:

"*Voted*: That all the Leaden Weights of the Windows of this Church be delivered to the Commissary of this Collony, upon condition Iron Weights be placed in their stead, and the difference paid in Cash."

Dr. John Lathrop, of the Old North Church, which was destroyed for fuel, left the town. On his return, his Society united in 1779 with Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton's, afterwards making the 2d Church. John Hunt and John Bacon were associate pastors of the Old South. Mr. Bacon, from some causes of dissatisfaction, was dismissed Feb. 8, 1775. He went to Stockbridge, and entered political life. Mr. Hunt happened to be absent on a visit in Brookline when the gates were shut on Boston Neck. When he applied to be admitted, he was refused because he would not agree to remain. He went to Northampton, where he died of consumption Dec. 30, 1775. The parsonage of the Society, adjoining the Meeting-house, which was built by Gov. Winthrop for his residence, was burned by the British for fuel, as were also some fine button-wood trees which surrounded it. To the same use was put all the interior work of the Meeting-house, except the sounding-board and the east galleries. A richly-wrought, canopied and damask-furnished pew, designed for high magistrates, and rivalling that in King's Chapel, was taken to John Amory's house and used as a hog-sty. The edifice was so outraged and defaced that it was several years before the remnant of its impoverished congregation was able to restore it to its designed purpose. From Nov. 9, 1777, to Feb. 23, 1783, — except an interval of five months between 1781–2, when they occupied the Representatives room in the Old State House, — the congregation worshipped in King's Chapel, where their next pastor, Dr. Eckley, was ordained Oct. 27, 1779. The Old South, after being repaired, was rededicated March 2, 1783.

The pulpit recently standing in it was substituted in 1808 for the one built at the restoration of the edifice.

The Rev. Joseph Howe, pastor of the New South Church, died at Hartford, Aug. 25, 1775.

Dr. Cooper, of Brattle-street Church, having taken so prominent a part as a patriot as to have been menaced by a British officer, left Boston with his wife, April 16, 1775, leaving his child, library, furniture and plate, intending soon to return to the town, after riding about the country for his health. He made his home at Weston, and returned to Boston after the Evacuation. The fate of his Meeting-house is referred to in Deacon Newell's diary.

The ministers of the two Baptist Societies, with very similar names, were Rev. S. Stillman and Rev. I. Skillman. The latter remained in the town.

Dr. Mather Byles, of Hollis street, with tory proclivities, remained, but was inactive. His congregation on their return soon superseded him.

Mather Byles, Jr., Rector of Christ Church, closed his ministry the day before the battle of Lexington.

Mr. Troutbeck, of King's Chapel, went off in Nov., 1775, and Dr. Caner, the rector, left on the Evacuation, as did also William Walter, the rector of Trinity Church. The associate of Mr. Walter (Mr. Samuel Parker), in a funeral sermon which he preached upon Dr. Andrew Eliot, said, that "Thinking as an Episcopal clergyman he would be obnoxious to the returning inhabitants, he was packing his effects preparatory to going off with the army, when Dr. Eliot came to him advising him to remain, as, being a young man, and discreet, he had not made himself offensive." He took the advice and remained.

F8441.0995

6280 I